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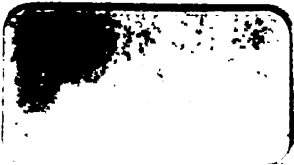


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A  
TREATISE  
ON  
CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,

COMPILED  
FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ALONE;

BY  
JOHN MILTON.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL

BY  
CHARLES R. SUMNER, M. A.  
LIBRARIAN AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY, AND PREBENDARY  
OF CANTERBURY.

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FROM THE LONDON EDITION.

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VOLUME I.

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CHARLES EWER—CROCKER AND BREWSTER—TIMOTHY BEDLINGTON  
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1825.



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W. H. L.

v. 1

1871

1871

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CAMBRIDGE :

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TO THE  
KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SIRE,

*In obedience to Your Majesty's gracious command, I have executed a Translation of the recently discovered theological treatise of MILTON, which I have now the honour of laying most humbly at Your Majesty's feet.*

*With every sentiment of gratitude and attachment,  
I have the honour to be,*

SIRE,

*Your Majesty's  
most humble servant, and dutiful subject,*

CHARLES R. SUMNER.

*Windsor, June 25, 1825.*









## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

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**T**O enter into a preliminary discussion of the doctrines or opinions contained in the present volume, seems, properly speaking, to be no necessary part of the Translator's duty. After stating, therefore, in the first place, the circumstances under which the original manuscript was discovered, and the reasons for considering it as the long lost theological work of Milton, it will be sufficient to subjoin, as briefly as possible, a few remarks chiefly relating to certain peculiarities in the following treatise, by which it is distinguished from the author's other compositions.

From information communicated by Robert Lemon, sen. Esq. Deputy Keeper of His Majesty's State Papers, who has lately completed from the documents under his care an entire series of the Order-Books of the Council of State during the Interregnum, it appears that Milton retired from active official employment as Secretary for Foreign Languages, about the middle of the year 1655. The following entry occurs under the date of April 17 in that year :

“ The Councill resumed the debate upon the report made from the Committee of the Councill to whom it was referred

to consider of the establishment of the Councill's contingencies.

"Ordered . . . That the former yearly Salary of Mr. JOHN MILTON, of Two Hundred Eighty-Eight Pounds, &c., formerly charged on the Councill's contingencies, be reduced to One Hundred and Fiftie Pounds per annum, and paid to him, during his life, out of His Highness' Exchequer."

This sum must have been intended as a retiring pension in consideration of past services, as it is evident from another entry, under the same date, that a successor was already appointed, at a reduced salary, to discharge the duties of the situation which Milton had previously occupied.

"For the Fee of Mr. Phillip Medows,"	} per annum.	£200 0 0"
Secretary for the Latine Tongue,		
after the rate of - - - - -		

From this time it is presumed that Milton ceased to be employed in public business, as his name does not again occur in the Books of the Council of State, which continue in uninterrupted succession till the 2d of September 1658, the day preceding the death of Cromwell.\*

\*The Orders of the Council of State during the Interregnum, brought to light and arranged by the industry of Mr. Lemon, form one of the most interesting series of documents relative to English History at present in existence. They contain the daily transactions of the executive government in England from 1648-9 to September 1658, and are particularly valuable from the period of the dissolution of the Long Parliament in 1653, to the death of Cromwell in September 1658; as during the greater part of that time the Council of State, under the Protector, combined both the executive and legislative functions of government, and as these books are the authentic, but hitherto unknown records of their daily proceedings. It is greatly to be desired that the attention of the Record Commissioners should be drawn to

It is mentioned by the biographers of Milton (Toland's *Life of John Milton*, p. 148, 12mo. London, 1699; Newton's *Life of Milton*, Vol. I. p. xl. and lxiii. 8vo. London, 1757; Symmons's *Life of Milton*, appended to his edition of the Prose Works, Vol. VII. p. 500, London, 1806) that about the time when he was thus released from public business, he entered upon the composition of three great works, more congenial to his taste than the employments in which he had been recently engaged, and fitted to occupy his mind under the blindness with which he had been afflicted for nearly three years. The works commenced under these circumstances were *Paradise Lost*, a Latin Thesaurus, intended as an improvement on that by Robert Stephens, and a body of Divinity compiled from the Holy Scriptures, 'all which,' according to Wood (*Fasti Oxonienses*, Part I. 1635, col. 486, edit. 1817) 'notwithstanding the several troubles that befel him in his fortunes, he finished after His Majesty's Restoration.' After enumerating the works of Milton then published, Wood says; 'These I think are all the things he hath yet extant; those that are not, are a Body of Divinity, which my friend (Aubrey) calls *Idea Theologiæ*, now, or at least lately, in the hands of the author's acquaintance, called CYRIACK SKINNER, living in Mark Lane, London; and the Latin Thesaurus, in those of EDWARD PHILIPPS, his nephew.'

these valuable documents, and perhaps it might be advisable that a fair transcript of them should be made, under their sanction, to guard against loss or damage by any accident which may happen to the originals.



In allusion to the work which is thus called by Wood, on the authority of Aubrey, *Idea Theologiæ*, Toland has the following passage : ‘ He wrote likewise a *System of Divinity*, but whether intended for public view, or collected merely for his own use, I cannot determine. It was in the hands of his friend CYRIACK SKINNER, and where at present is uncertain.’\* Dr. Symmons also says, in a note, Vol. VII. p. 500 : ‘ An answer to a libel on himself, and a system of Theology, called, according to Wood, *Idea Theologiæ*, are compositions of Milton which have been lost. The last was at one time in the hands of Cyriack Skinner, but what became of it afterwards has not been traced.’

It appears then from the above testimonies, that a treatise on Divinity was known to have been compiled by Milton, and deposited, either for safe custody, or from motives of friendship, in the hands of Cyriack Skinner ; since which time all traces of it have been lost. It is necessary to show, in the next place, what are the grounds for supposing that the original work, from which the following translation has been executed, is the identical treatise so long concealed from the researches of all the editors and biographers of the author of *Paradise Lost*.

It is observable that neither Wood, nor any of the subsequent biographers of Milton, have mentioned the language in which his theological treatise was

\* Life, p. 148.

written. To prefix a learned title to an English composition would be so consistent with Milton's own practice, as well as with the prevailing taste of his age, that the circumstance of Aubrey's ascribing to it a Latin name affords no certain proof that the work itself was originally written in that language. In the latter part of the year 1823, however, a Latin manuscript, bearing the following title, JOANNIS MILTONI ANGLI DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA, EX SACRIS DUNTAXAT LIBRIS PETITA, DISQUISITIONUM LIBRI DUO POSTHUMI, was discovered by Mr. Lemon, in the course of his researches in the Old State Paper Office situated in what is called the Middle Treasury Gallery, Whitehall. It was found in one of the presses, loosely wrapped in two or three sheets of printed paper, with a large number of original letters, informations, examinations, and other curious records relative to the Popish plots in 1677 and 1678, and to the Rye House plot in 1683. The same parcel likewise contained a complete and corrected copy of all the Latin letters to foreign princes and states written by Milton while he officiated as Latin Secretary; and the whole was enclosed in an envelope superscribed, '*To Mr. Skinner, Merch!*' The address seems distinctly to identify this important manuscript with the work mentioned by Wood, though an error has been committed, either by himself or his informant, with respect to its real title.

Mr. Cyriack Skinner, whose name is already well known in association with that of Milton, appears,

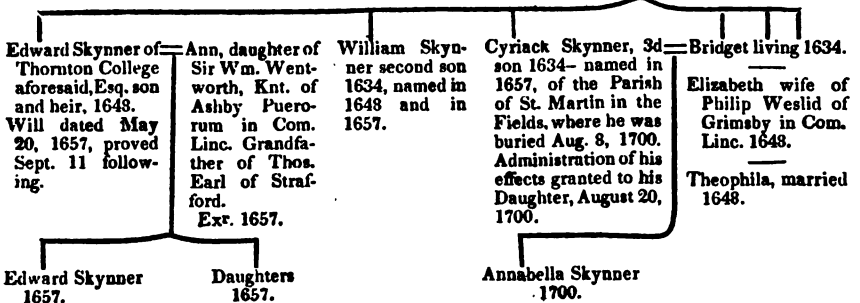
from a pedigree communicated by James Pulman, Esq., Portcullis Poursuivant at Arms, to have been the grandson of Sir Vincent Skinner or Skynner, knight, whose eldest son and heir, William Skynner, of Thornton College in the County of Lincoln, Esq., married Bridget, second daughter of Sir Edward Coke, knight, Chief Justice of England.\* The affinity between Cyriack Skinner and this distinguished ornament of the English Bar, is thus alluded to by Milton in his 21st Sonnet :

*To CYRIACK SKINNER.*

Cyriack, whose grandsire, on the royal bench  
Of British Themis, with no mean applause  
Pronounc'd, and in his volumes taught, our laws,  
Which others at their bar so often wrench ;

\* William Skynner, of Thornton College in the County of Lincoln, Esq. Son and Heir of Sir Vincent Skynner, Knt. Will dated August 3, 1627, proved February 1, 1627-8.

Bridget second daughter of Sir Edward Coke, Knt. Chief Justice of England, and relict of William Berney, Esq. Will (in which she is described of Thornton College, widow,) dated Sept. 26, 1648, proved June 18, 1653, by her son Cyriack Skynner, Executor.



To-day deep thoughts resolve with me to drench  
 In mirth that, after, no repenting draws ;  
 Let Euclid rest, and Archimedes pause,  
 And what the Swede intends, and what the French.  
 To measure life learn thou betimes, and know  
 Toward solid good what leads the nearest way ;  
 For other things mild Heav'n a time ordains,  
 And disapproves that care, though wise in show,  
 That with superfluous burden loads the day,  
 And, when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.

All the biographers of Milton have mentioned that Cyriack Skinner was his favourite pupil, and subsequently his particular friend. Wood incidentally notices him in speaking of the well-known club of Commonwealth's men, which used to meet in 1659 at the Turk's Head in New Palace Yard, Westminster. 'Besides our author (James Harrington) and H. Nevill, who were the prime men of this club, were Cyriack Skinner, a merchant's son of London, an ingenious young gentleman, and scholar to Jo. Milton, which Skinner sometimes held the chair, Major John Wildman,' &c. &c.\* Wood further says that 'the discourses of the members about government, and ordering a commonwealth, were the most ingenious and smart that were ever heard ; for the arguments in the Parliament House were but flat to them.' They were fond, it appears, of proposing models of democratical government, and at the dissolution of the club in February, 1659, at which time the secluded members were restored by General

\* *Fasti Oxonienses*, Life of Mr. James Harrington, 389.

Monk, 'all their models,' Wood says, 'vanished.' These models are not now of common occurrence, but two of them are in the possession of the Rev. Henry J. Todd, from whom the following information respecting them is derived. One is entitled 'A Modell of a Democraticall Government, humbly tendered to consideration by a friend and well-wisher to this Commonwealth,' 4to. London, 1659. The title of the other is 'Idæa Democratica, or a Commonweal Platform,' 4to. London, 1659. Both consist of a very few leaves only, and neither are enumerated by Wood among Harrington's pieces. Mr. Todd supposes with much probability, that as the chair was often taken by the *ingenious young gentleman*, as Wood terms Skinner, he was concerned in the publication of these antimonarchical curiosities. Care however must be taken not to confound him with another individual of the same name, who likewise took a part against the crown in the politics of the day; viz. Augustine Skinner, one of the small Rump Parliament of ninety members in 1659. It was probably the latter who belonged to the Committee appointed by the House to consider all orders, &c. touching absent, that is, the secluded members; in which Committee is the leader of the Rota Club, 'Sir James Harrington,' as he was then usually called, though not knighted. Harrington is the fifth in the list of the Committee, and 'Mr. Skinner' the twelfth.\*

\* See 'A brief Narrative of the late forcible Seclusion of divers Members of the House of Commons,' 1660, p. 6.



In the year 1654, we learn from a letter addressed to Milton by his friend Andrew Marvell, and first published by Dr. Birch, that Skinner 'had got near' his former preceptor, who then occupied lodgings in Petty France, Westminster, probably for the sake of their contiguity to the Council. This was the house 'next door to the Lord Scudamore's, and opened into St. James's park,' where he is said to have remained eight years; namely, from 1652 till within a few weeks of the restoration of Charles the Second. By a comparison of dates, it may be conjectured that he removed into it when obliged to leave the lodgings in Whitehall, which, as is proved by the following curious extracts from the Council books, had been provided for him at the public expense, and fitted up with some of the spoils of the late King's property.

- " 1649. *Nov.* 12. Ordered—That Sir John Hipposley be spoken to, that Mr. Milton may be accommodated with the Lodgings that he hath at Whitehall."
- " 1649. *Nov.* 19. ——— That Mr. Milton shall have the Lodgings that were in the hands of Sir John Hipposley, in Whitehall, for his accommodation, as being Secretary to the Councell for Forreigne Languages."
- " 1650, *June*, 14. ——— That Mr. Milton shall have a warrant to the Trustees and Contractors for the sale of the King's goods, for the furnishing of his Lodgings at Whitehall with some Hangings."

*Copy of the Warrant of the Council of State, above-mentioned.*

‘These are to will and require you, forthwith, upon sight hereof, to deliver unto Mr. John Milton, or to whom hee shall appoint, such Hangings as shall bee sufficient for the furnishing of his Lodgings in Whitehall. Given at Whitehall 18<sup>o</sup>.

*Junii 1650.*

*To the Trustees and Contractors for  
the Sale of the late King's Goods.’*

“1651. *April* 10. Ordered—That Mr. Vaux bee sent unto, to lett him know that hee is to forbear the removeing of Mr. Milton out of his Lodgings at Whitehall, until Sir Henry Mildmay and Sir Gilbert Pickering shall have spoken with the Committee concerning that businesse.”

“1651. *June* 11. — That Lieutenant Generall Fleetwood, Sir John Trevor, Mr. Alderman Allen, and Mr. Chaloner, or anie two of them, bee appointed a Committee to go from this Councell to the Committee of Parliament for Whitehall, to acquaint them with the case of Mr. Milton, in regard to their positive order for his speedie remove out of his Lodgings in Whitehall, and to endeavour with them that the said Mr. Milton may bee continued where he is, in regard of the employment hee is in to the Councell, which necessitates him to reside neere the Councell.”

About a year after Skinner had thus become the neighbour of Milton, the latter addressed to him that

beautiful sonnet on the loss of his sight, which, in consequence of the allusion contained in it to the Defence of the People, was not published till twenty years after the author's death.

Cyriack, this three years day these eyes, though clear,  
 To outward view, of blemish or of spot,  
 Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot ;  
 Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear  
 Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,  
 Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not  
 Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot  
 Of heart or hope ; but still bear up and steer  
 Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask ?  
 The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied  
 In liberty's defence, my noble task,  
 Of which all Europe rings from side to side.  
 This thought might lead me through the world's vain  
 mask  
 Content, though blind, had I no better guide.

It appears from the title, that the work entrusted to Skinner's care was originally intended to be a posthumous publication. The reproaches to which its author had been exposed in consequence of opinions contained in his early controversial writings, may have induced him to avoid attracting the notice of the public during the ascendancy of his political opponents, by a frank avowal of his religious sentiments. But by what means, by whom, or at what time this interesting document was deposited in the State Paper Office, is at present not known with certainty ; every trace of its existence having been lost for nearly a century and a half, till it was discovered by Mr. Lemon in the manner above described.

In the absence of all positive evidence on this subject, it is due to the sagacity of Mr. Lemon to state the satisfactory conjecture originally formed by that gentleman, which subsequent discoveries have almost converted into a moral certainty. From the decided republican principles which Cyriack Skinner was well known to have adopted, it is not improbable that he was suspected of participating in some of the numerous political conspiracies which prevailed during the last ten years of the reign of Charles the Second, and that his papers were seized in consequence. Supposing this step to have been taken, the Milton manuscript would have come officially, with the other suspected documents, into the possession either of SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, or SIR LEOLINE JENKINS; who held successively the office of Principal Secretary of State for the Southern or Home Department, during the whole of the period alluded to, that is, from 1674 to 1684. It was at this time the custom for the Secretaries, on retiring from office, to remove with them the public documents connected with their respective administrations; but both these distinguished statesmen, from a conviction of the inconvenience of a practice which has since been disused, bequeathed their large and valuable collections of manuscripts to His Majesty's State Paper Office. It was in the course of examining these papers for the purpose of arranging them in chronological order, and of forming a catalogue raisonné of their contents, that the identical manuscript came to light, of which

the public, by His Majesty's gracious command, is now in possession.\*

It will be admitted that the above mode of accounting for the unexpected discovery of Milton's theological work among the neglected treasures of the State Paper Office, is at least plausible. It occurred, however, to Mr. Lemon, that an accurate inspection of the papers relative to the plots of 1677, 1678, and 1683, deposited in the same press with the manuscript, might perhaps afford some information respecting it. He has therefore recently examined the whole of this part of the collection, and in a bundle of papers containing informations and examinations taken in the year 1677, the following letter was discovered from a Mr. Perwich, written at Paris, March 15, 1677, and addressed to Mr. Bridgeman, Secretary to Sir Joseph Williamson, which appears to throw considerable light on the preceding conjecture.

Paris March 15 — 77.

'Sir

I have ~~del~~ (delivered) Dr. Barrow's letter to Mr. Skinner, before witnesse, as you desired. I found him much surprised, and yet at the same time slighting any constraining orders from the Superiour of his Colledge, or any bene-

\*In the same office have been lately discovered some curious documents, hitherto unknown, respecting both the family history and the official life of Milton, which, by the permission of Mr. Secretary Peel, are now incorporated, with other materials, into an account of him and his writings, about to be published by the Rev. Mr. Todd, the well-known and able editor of Milton's Poetical Works.

C.



fit he expected thence, but as to Milton's Workes he intended to have printed, (though he saith that part which he had in M. S. S. are noe way to be objected ag<sup>t</sup>, either with regard to Royalty and Government) he hath desisted from the causing them to be printed, having left them in Holland, and that he intends, notwithstanding the College sumons, to goe for Italy this summer. This is all I can say in that affaire. You have herein all our newes.

I am S<sup>r</sup>,

Your most faithfull obt. Servt.

W. PERWICH.

For W<sup>m</sup>. Bridgman, Esq.

Sec<sup>y</sup>ry to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

M. Sec<sup>y</sup>ry Williamson.

att Court."

On this letter Mr. Lemon submits the following reasoning, which it is right to state in his own language :

' From the words in the preceding letter, "*Superiour of his Colledge*," it evidently appears that Mr. Skinner, who at that period is thus proved to have had unpublished manuscripts of Milton in his possession, was a member of some Catholic religious order ; and it is a very curious and interesting fact, which strongly corroborates the preceding conjecture, that in the original deposition of Titus Oates (which actually lay on the parcel containing the posthumous work of Milton when it was discovered) signed by himself, and attested by Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, on the 27th of September, 1678, a few days only before his mysterious murder, and also signed by Dr.

Ezrael Tonge, and Christopher Kirkby, the name of MR. SKINNER is inserted as A BENEDICTINE, in the list given in by Titus Oates of the persons implicated in the Popish plot of 1678.'

There are, however, some reasons for doubting whether Skinner the Benedictine can have been Cyriack Skinner, the original depositary of Milton's work. It appears from the pedigree inserted in a preceding page, that letters of administration were granted in August 1700 to Annabella, daughter of Cyriack Skinner, in which he is described as of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, *Widower*. This is evidently inconsistent with the supposition that he was a member of a religious order. It is indeed barely possible that he may have assumed the Benedictine character in 1677 (the year in which Perwich's letter is dated) though it is most unlikely that such a change should have taken place in the principles of one who had been the intimate friend of Milton, and whose opinions had been so decidedly opposed to Popery during the Commonwealth. By the will of Edward, the eldest brother, dated 20th May 1657, and proved the 10th of February following, Cyriack was nominated guardian of his son, in case his wife (the daughter of Sir William Wentworth, who was killed at Marston Moor) should re-marry or die; and in the same document a legacy of one hundred pounds is bequeathed to each of the brothers William and Cyriack.

On the whole, therefore, it seems most probable, that the Benedictine Skinner, if an immediate connexion of this family, was William, the second son of William and Bridget, and elder brother of Cyriack ; a conjecture rendered more likely from the fact that no will of this individual is registered, nor is any record of him mentioned after 1657, when his elder brother died. Cyriack, aware of the suspicion to which he was liable as the friend of Milton, as well as on account of his own political character, might naturally conceive that his papers would be safer in the hands of his brother, out of the kingdom, than in his own custody ; and the government having been informed by Mr. Perwich of their concealment in Holland, perhaps obtained possession of them through their emissaries, while Skinner was travelling in Italy, according to his design mentioned in the letter to Mr. Bridgeman.

There seems no reason, however, why the words ‘ *Superiour of his Colledge* ’ should not apply with as much propriety to the head of a Protestant as of a Roman Catholic Society. Dr. Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, did not die till May 1677, two months after the date of Perwich’s letter, and in the register of that College the following entries occur : ‘ Oct. 2, 1674. Daniel Skinner juratus et admissus in socium minorem.’— ‘ May 23d, 1679. Daniel Skinner juratus et admissus in socium majorem.’ From the unusual interval between the first and second admission, which ordinarily

does not exceed a year and a half, as well as from the day, May 23, the regular day for the admission of major Fellows being in July, it is evident that his advance to the latter rank took place under some extraordinary circumstances. If he was the Skinner mentioned in Perwich's letter, it may be supposed that his contumacious absence retarded his rise in the College, and that his continuance in his fellowship, and subsequent election as major Fellow, is to be ascribed to the leniency of the Society. That the Skinner alluded to was not a Catholic may be inferred from his having gone to Holland, which does not seem the most obvious place of refuge for a Catholic emigrant; as also from the manner in which he speaks of Milton's manuscript works, especially if, as is probable, in describing them as "no way to be objected against *either* with regard to royalty *and* government," he intended to have added, "or with regard to religion," "church polity," or something similar, which by an oversight was omitted; for he can hardly have meant to write "royalty *or* government," there being little or no difference between the terms, in the sense in which the writer would have used them. Nor is it likely that a member of a Catholic religious order would have entertained the design of publishing such works.

The manuscript itself consists of 735 pages, closely written on small quarto letter paper. The first part, as far as the 15th chapter of the first book, is in a small and beautiful Italian hand; being evidently a

corrected copy, prepared for the press, without interlineations of any kind. This portion of the volume, however, affords a proof that even the most careful transcription seldom fails to diminish the accuracy of a text ; for although it is evident that extraordinary pains have been employed to secure its legibility and correctness, the mistakes which are found in this part of the manuscript, especially in the references to the quotations, are in the proportion of 14 to 1 as compared with those in the remaining three-fifths of the work. The character is evidently that of a female hand, and it is the opinion of Mr. Lemon, whose knowledge of the hand-writings of that time is so extensive that the greatest deference is due to his judgement, that Mary, the second daughter of Milton, was employed as amanuensis in this part of the volume. In corroboration of this conjecture, it may be remarked that some of the mistakes above alluded to are of a nature to induce a suspicion that the transcriber was merely a copyist, or, at most, only imperfectly acquainted with the learned languages. For instance, in p. 19, l. 17, of the Latin volume, the following quotation occurs : Heb. iv. 13. *omnia sunt nuda, et ab intimo patientia oculis ejus* ; where in the manuscript the word *patientia* is substituted for *patentia*. This might have been supposed an accidental oversight, occasioned by the haste of the writer ; but on turning to the Latin Bible of Junius and Tremellius, which Milton generally uses in his quotations, it will be found that the same error occurs in the edition printed at Geneva, 1630, but not in

that printed at London, 1593. This not only seems to fix the precise edition of the Bible from which the texts were copied, but, considering that the mistake is such as could hardly fail to be corrected by the most careless transcriber, provided he understood the sentence, affords a strong presumption that the writer possessed a very moderate degree of scholarship. On the other hand, a great proportion of the errors are precisely such as lead to a supposition that the amanuensis, though no scholar, was to a certain degree acquainted with the language verbally; inasmuch as they generally consist, not of false combinations of letters, but of the substitution of one word for another of nearly similar sound or structure. Of this kind are *gloriæ* for *gratiæ*, *corruentem* for *cor autem*, *nos* for *non*, *in jus* for *ejus*, *re* for *rex*, *imminuitur* for *innuitur*, *in quam* for *inquam*, *iniquam* for *inquam*, *assimulatus* for *assimilatus*, *alienæ tuæ* for *alienatæ*, *cælorum* for *cæcorum*, *decere* for *docere*, *explorentur* for *explerentur*, *examinatis* for *exanimatis*, *juraverunt* for *jejunarunt*, *errare* for *orare*, &c. &c. Faults of this description, especially considering that very few occur of a different class, and taken in connexion with the opinion of Mr. Lemon stated above, will perhaps remind the reader of a charge which, as Mr. Todd notices, has been brought against the paternal conduct of Milton; ‘I mean his teaching his children to read and pronounce Greek and several other languages, *without understanding any but English.*’\* This at least is certain, that the transcriber of this

\* *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton.* Vol. I. p. 161.

part of the manuscript was much employed in Milton's service; for the hand-writing is the same as appears in the fair copy of the Latin letters, discovered, as has been mentioned, in the press which contained the present treatise.\*

\* It is desirable that a new edition of these letters should be published from this corrected manuscript. The text appears to differ in many instances from that of our present editions, and from the following printed advertisement, which was found in the same parcel, there can be no doubt that the collection had been carefully revised by the author or his friends, and was prepared for publication. It was intended to have been committed to the press in Holland, and was therefore probably among the papers which Skinner had left in that country. The advertisement itself is curious, as containing an indignant remonstrance against the conduct of some dishonest bookseller who had obtained a surreptitious copy of the letters, and published them in an incorrect shape.

‘Innotescat omnibus cum in Academiis, tum in Londino, literatis, Bibliopolis etiam, si qui sint qui præter solitum Latine sciunt, nec non exteris quibuscunque, quod *Literæ JOANNIS MILTONI Angli, interregni tempore scriptæ*, quas bibliopola quidam Londinensis, secum habita consultatione quantam in rem famamque quantam imperfectissimum quid et indigestum ex operibus tanti viri sibi pro certo cederet, nuper in lucem irrepi fecit (præterquam quod a contemptissimo quodam et perobscuro preli quondam curatore, qui parvam schedarum manum vel emendicaverit olim abs authore, vel, quod verisimilius est, clam suppilaverit, perexiguo pretio fuerunt emptæ) sunt misere mutilæ, dimidiatæ, deformes ex omni parte ruptoque ordine confusæ, præfatiuncula spurca non minus quam infantissima dehonestatæ, cæterisque dein a numerosioribus chartis nequiter arreptæ. Quodque vera Literarum exemplaria, locupletiora multum et auctiora, composita concinnius et digesta, *typis elegantioribus excudenda sunt in Hollandia prelo commissa*. Quæ una cum Articulis Hispanicis, Portugallicis, Gallicis, Belgicis in ista rerum inclinatione nobiscum initis et percussis, pluribusque chartis Germanicis, Danicis, Suevicis scitissime scriptis, ne ex tam spuriis libri natalitiis, et ex tam vili præfatore læderetur author, brevi possis, humanissime lector, expectare.’

The remainder of the manuscript is in an entirely different hand, being a strong upright character, supposed by Mr. Lemon to be the hand-writing of Edward Philipps, the nephew of Milton. This part of the volume is interspersed with numerous interlineations and corrections, and in several places with small slips of writing pasted in the margin. These corrections are in two distinct hand-writings, different from the body of the manuscript, but the greater part of them undoubtedly written by the same person who transcribed the first part of the volume. Hence it is probable that the latter part of the MS. is a copy transcribed by Philipps, and finally revised and corrected by Mary and Deborah Milton from the dictation of their father, as many of the alterations bear a strong resemblance to the reputed hand-writing of Deborah, the youngest daughter of Milton, in the manuscripts preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; who is stated by Wood (*Fasti Oxonienses*, Part I, 1635. col. 483.) to have been ‘trained up by her father in Latin and Greek, and made by him his amanuensis.’ A lithrographic facsimile has been taken of two of the Sonnets in the Trinity manuscript, and is prefixed to this volume, by the permission of the Master and Seniors of that Society. The other plate is an accurate representation of the three hand-writings alluded to in the preceding statement.

Independently, however, of other considerations, the readers of the volume now published will find the

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best proofs of its authenticity in the resemblance of its language and opinions to the printed works of Milton. Some striking specimens of this agreement are frequently given in the notes, and these illustrations might have been multiplied to a much greater extent, had it not seemed desirable, on account of the bulk of the volume, only to select such as were most remarkable for similarity of style or sentiments.

It must be acknowledged that the disqualifications of Milton for such a work as the present, were neither few nor unimportant. They were owing partly to the unhappy circumstances of the period at which he lived; and partly to that peculiar disposition of mind which led him to view every surrender of individual opinion, whether in morals or politics as an infringement on the rights of natural liberty. In his time power was abused, under pretence of religion, in a degree to which, happily for genuine Christianity, the ecclesiastical annals can scarcely afford a parallel; and the universal prevalence of an intolerant spirit, from which his own connexions as well as himself had suffered severely, disposed him to look with an unfavourable eye, not only upon the corruptions, but on the doctrine itself and discipline of the church. His father had been disinherited for embracing the Protestant faith. He himself had been brought up under a Puritan who was subsequently obliged to leave England on account of his religious opinions, Thomas Young of Essex, one of the six answerers of Hall's Humble Remonstrance. Hence there is some

foundation for the remark of Hayley, that Milton 'wrote with the indignant enthusiasm of a man resenting the injuries of those who are most entitled to his love and veneration. The ardour of his affections conspired with the warmth of his fancy to inspire him with that puritanical zeal which blazes so intensely in his controversial productions.'\* Thus it was that, like Clarke, though on different grounds, he was biassed against the authority of the church, and predisposed by the political constitution of his mind to such unbounded freedom as can hardly consist, as has been truly said, with any established system of faith whatever.† His love of Christian liberty began indeed to manifest itself at a very early period of his life, for though destined to the church from his childhood, he refused to enter it from a religious scruple, thinking that 'he who took orders must subscribe slave.'

There were, however, other circumstances of a different nature, which in some degree counterbalanced these defects. His epic poems afford sufficient evidence not only of extensive biblical knowledge, but of singular judgement in availing himself of the language of Scripture itself, without addition or alteration, in particular parts of his subject. There is no topic to which he recurs more frequently or with more apparent satisfaction than to the serious turn of

\* Hayley's *Life of Milton*, p. 66.

† Bp. Van Mildert's *Review of Waterland's Life and Writings*. Works, I. 48.

his early studies. In his *Apology for Smectymnuus* he speaks of the 'wearisome labours and studious watchings wherein he had spent and tired out almost a whole youth.'\* Again 'care was ever had of me with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently trained up in the precepts of Christian religion.' In his treatise on education he mentions his 'many studious and contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge,' to which allusion is again made with much feeling in the *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*.† He was a proficient in the Hebrew tongue, which he strongly recommends should be gained 'at a set hour,' that the Scriptures may be 'read in their own original.'‡ His own knowledge of this language was probably acquired in his early youth, for in a letter to Young, written in 1625, he thanks him for his acceptable present of a Hebrew Bible; '*Biblia Hebræa, pergratum sane munus tuum, jampridem accepi.*'§ Aubrey and others, who obtained their information from his widow, have related that as long as he lived it was his custom to begin the day with hearing a portion of the Hebrew Scriptures, which a person was employed to read to him; and during every period of his life his Sundays were wholly devoted to theology. The importance which he attached to these pursuits is further confirmed by what Birch relates of the system pursued by him with his pupils. 'The Sunday's work for his pupils was for the most part to read a

\* *Pape Works*, I. 208.

† *Ibid.* I. 281.

‡ *Ibid.* I. 225, 274. V. 199, 230, 233.

§ *Ibid.* VI. 110.

Chapter of the Greek Testament, and hear his exposition of it. The next work after this was to write from his dictation some part of a system of divinity which he collected from the most eminent writers upon that subject, as Amesius, Wollebius, &c.\* Some account of the treatises to which he is said to have been indebted for this compilation, will be found in vol. II. p. 328.

Nourished with these studies, and imbued with a salutary abhorrence of indolence and licentious excess, the ordinary failings of youth, Milton's mind acquired from his earliest years that reverential and devotional cast which is perceptible in all his writings. In the sonnet written on attaining his three and twentieth year he unfolds the principle on which he acted.

. . . . Be it less or more, or soon or slow,  
It shall be still in strictest measure even  
To that same lot, however mean or high,  
Towards which time leads me, and the will of Heaven;  
All is, if I have grace to use it so,  
As ever in my great Taskmaster's eye.

The pious language in which, at a later period of his life, he speaks of his blindness, is not more affecting as a display of the mental consolations whereby he was supported under his personal infirmities, than it is characteristic of his religious feelings.

\* *Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. J. Milton*, p. xxiii. 4to. London, 1753.

‘ Sic denique habento , me sortis meæ neque pigere neque pœnitere ; immotum atque fixum in sententia perstare ; Deum iratum neque sentire neque habere ; immo maximis in rebus clementiam ejus et benignitatem erga me paternam experiri atque agnoscere ; in hoc præsertim, quod solante ipso atque animum confirmante in ejus divina voluntate acquiescam ; quid is largitus mihi sit quam quid negaverit sæpius cogitans : postremo nolle me cum suo quovis rectissime facto facti mei conscientiam permutare, aut recordationem ejus gratam mihi semper atque tranquillam deponere. Ad cæcitatem denique quod attinet, malle me, si necesse est, meam, quam vel suam, More, vel tuam. Vestra imis sensibus immersa, ne quid sani videatis aut solidi, mentem obcæcat : mea, quam objicitis, colorem tantummodo rebus et superficiem demit ; quod verum ac stabile in iis est contemplationi mentis non adimit. Quam multa deinde sunt quæ videre nollem ; quam multa quæ possem, libens non videre ; quam pauca reliqua sunt quæ videre cupiam ! Sed neque ego cæcis, afflictis, mœrentibus, imbecillis, tametsi vos id miserum ducitis, aggregari me discrucior ; quandoquidem spes est eo me propius ad misericordiam summi Patris atque tutelam pertinere. Est quoddam per imbecillitatem, præeunte apostolo, ad maximas vires iter : sim ego debilissimus, dummodo in mea debilitate immortalis ille et melior vigor eo se efficacius exerat ; dummodo in meis tenebris divini vultus lumen eo clarius eluceat : tum enim infirmissimus ero simul et validissimus, cæcus eodem tempore et perspicacissimus ; hac possim ego infirmitate con-

summari, hac perfici, possim in hac obscuritate sic ego irradiari. Et sane haud ultima Dei cura cæci sumus; qui nos, quo minus quicquam aliud præter ipsum cernere valemus, eo clementius atque benignius respicere dignatur. Væ qui illudit nos, væ qui lædit, execratione publica devovendo: nos ab injuriis hominum non modo incolumes, sed pene sacros divina lex reddidit, divinus favor; nec tam oculorum hebetudine, quam coelestium alarum umbra has nobis fecisse tenebras videtur, factas illustrare rursus interiore ac longe præstabiliore lumine haud raro solet.\*

Again, in the second book of *The Reason of Church Government*, a passage occurs of singular beauty, which shows how devotedly the author was attached to the illustration of sacred subjects, whether in works of imagination, or of pure reasoning. 'These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of

\* *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.* Prose Works, V. 216.

kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and reflexes of man's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe; teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such delight, to those especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon truth herself unless they see her elegantly dressed, that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed.'\*

To these quotations another of a different kind may be not improperly added, as well on account of the eloquence of the passage, as in proof that the author's opinions respecting the Trinity were at one time different from those which are disclosed in the present treatise. 'Which way to get out, or which way to end I know not, unless I turn mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands, to that eternal and propitious throne, where nothing is readier than grace and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants: and it were a shame to leave these serious thoughts less piously than the heathen were wont to conclude their

\* Prose Works, I. 120.

graver discourses. Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next thee I implore, omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! And thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one tripersonal Godhead! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church; leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants. O let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again, never hope for the chearful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing.\*

There is much reason for regretting that the prose works of Milton, where, in the midst of much that is coarse and intemperate, passages of such redeeming beauty occur, should be in the hands of so few readers, considering the advantage which might be derived

\* *Of Reformation in England*. Prose Works, I. 56. <sup>MS. 164.</sup> See indeed the entire context of this and the preceding quotation. Compare also the eloquent conclusion of the fourth section of *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence*, I. 181—184. 1641 A.D.



to our literature from the study of their original and nervous eloquence. On their first appearance, indeed, they must inevitably have been received by some with indifference, by others with dislike, by many with resentment. The zeal of the author in the cause of the Parliament, and the bitter personality with which he too frequently advocates his civil and religious opinions, were not calculated to secure him a dispassionate hearing even from his most candid opponents. But in happier times, when it is less difficult to make allowance for the effervescence caused by the heat of conflicting politics, and when the judgement is no longer influenced by the animosities of party, the taste of the age may be profitably and safely recalled to those treatises of Milton which were not written to serve a mere temporary purpose. In one respect indeed they will be found to differ very materially from the work now published. The latter is distinguished in a remarkable degree by calmness of thought, as well as by moderation of language. His other writings are generally loaded with ornament and illustration bordering on the poetical, rather than the argumentative style, and such is the vehemence with which he pours out his opprobrious epithets against his antagonists, that he seems to exhaust the powers of language in the bitterness of his invective. These are the characteristics in particular of his earliest works, and especially of his declamations against More and Salmasius. The contrast which this volume presents is singular, and if, as is probable, it was composed during his declining years, it affords

a pleasing picture of a mind softened by the influence of religious principle, and becoming gradually more tolerant of the supposed errors of others, as the period drew near when he must answer for his own before an unerring tribunal. Milton pursues his plan, not indeed without an occasional sally against academical institutions and ecclesiastical privileges, but without a single glance at contemporaneous politics, or a single harsh expression against religious opinions at variance with his own. His language, even where the arguments themselves are least convincing, is almost uniformly plain and temperate, and his metaphors are sparingly and judiciously introduced. It would seem as if he recognized the propriety, on so grave a subject as religion, of suffering his mind to pursue its contemplations undisturbed by the flights of that vivid fancy, to which, on the ordinary topics which employed his pen, he prescribed no limits.

Milton has shown a partiality in all his works, even on subjects not immediately connected with religion, for supporting his argument by the authority of Scripture. This practice, though agreeable to the spirit of his age, is not unfrequently carried to an extravagant length; as when he defends indiscriminate reading by the examples of Moses, Daniel, and Paul, who were skilful in heathen learning.\* To a theological treatise, however, illustrations of this kind properly belong; and it is gratifying to see the unbounded imagination of Milton deferring, with the simplicity

\* *Areopagitica*. Prose Works, I. 296.

of a Pascal, to 'the infallible grounds of Scripture.'\* 'Let us,' says he in the present work, 'discard reason in sacred matters, and follow the doctrine of Holy Scripture exclusively.'† Indeed its peculiar feature, in the opinion of the author, appears to have been its compilation from the Bible alone. Not that he undervalued the Fathers, for in the course of his argument he alludes to the opinions of several, and frequently with commendation; nor does he refuse to notice the criticisms of modern commentators, among whom Beza, whose interpretations he often follows, seems to have been an especial favourite. See especially his explanation of Rev. i. 4, 5. vol. I. p. 223. and of Philipp. iii. 15. vol. II. p. 161. Even in the title of his work, however, he refers to the Bible as his sole authority, with an emphasis indicative of the importance he attached to this circumstance. The same particular is again prominently alluded to in the preface, where an interesting account is given of the manner in which he qualified himself for the execution of his task. 'Whereas the greater part of those who have written most largely on these subjects, have been wont to fill whole pages with explanations of their own opinions, thrusting into the margin‡ the texts in support of their doctrine, with a summary reference to chapter and

\* Prose Works, II. 71.

† I. 115.

‡ Milton speaks in the most contemptuous terms of these 'marginal stuffings,' in *The Reason of Church Government*, &c. Prose Works, I. 123. See also *An Apology for Smectymnus*, Ibid. 247. And elsewhere he says of Prynne, that he may be known, by his 'wits lying ever beside him in the margin, to be ever beside his wits in the text.' *Likeliest Means to remove Hirelings*, &c. III. 336. See also II. 241.

verse ; I have chosen, on the contrary, to fill my pages even to redundancy with quotations from Scripture, that so as little space as possible might be left for my own words, even where they arise from the context of revelation itself.'

In the course of so long a work, embracing such a variety of topics, many opportunities would often occur for allusion to the politics of the times, in which religion bore so important a part. To have abstained from any reference to these subjects, is no ordinary proof of discretion in one who had dedicated his time and talents with such unwearied zeal to promote the objects of his party. Scarcely a sentence, however, will be found, in which local or temporary interests can be suspected of having influenced the mind of the author. Sometimes indeed he lays a stress on certain particulars, to which the subjects then in dispute between the conflicting religious parties gave more importance than they now possess. The power of the keys, for instance, claimed by the Pope, was then a familiar topic of discussion. Hence he takes occasion to bring proof from Scripture, that the administration of ecclesiastical discipline is not committed exclusively to Peter and his successors, or to any individual pastor specifically, but to the whole particular church, whether consisting of few or of many members.\* The subjects of Episcopacy and Covenants might have furnished him with opportunities not only of lashing the Royalists in general, but

\* II. 206.

of renewing those attacks which he had formerly directed so pertinaciously against King Charles himself. It may be worth while to contrast his manner of treating the subject of Covenants in his political tracts, with some corresponding remarks in the following treatise. He says in his *Eiconoclastes*, ‘Neither was the “covenant superfluous, though former engagements, both religious and legal, bound us before ;” but was the practice of all churches heretofore intending reformation. All Israel, though bound enough before by the law of Moses “to all necessary duties,” yet with Asa their king entered into a new covenant at the beginning of a reformation : and the Jews after captivity, without consent demanded of that king who was their master, took solemn oath to walk in the commandments of God. All Protestant churches have done the like, notwithstanding former engagements to their several duties.’\* Compare with this passage the observations to the same effect, in the beginning of the chapter on Church-discipline in this work, where, although the events of his own times could not but have been present to his mind during the composition of a passage so similar, he nevertheless entirely abstains even from the remotest reference to them. ‘It is a prudent as well as a pious custom, to solemnize the formation or re-establishment of a particular church by a public renewal of the covenant, as was frequently done in the reformations of the Jewish church, Deut. xxix. 1. The same took place under Asa, Ezra, Nehemiah, and others. So also,

\* Prose Works, III. 28.

when an individual unites himself to a particular church, it is requisite that he should enter into a solemn covenant with God and the church to conduct himself in all respects, both towards the one and the other, so as to promote his own edification, and that of his brethren.\* Again, speaking of the penitential meditations and vows of Charles at Holmby, Milton says, in the same treatise which has been already quoted, ‘It is not hard for any man who hath a Bible in his hands, to borrow good words and holy sayings in abundance; but to make them his own, is a work of grace only from above.’† A sentiment precisely similar occurs in this work, but not the most covert allusion is added which can recal to the mind of the reader the charge of insincerity formerly advanced against the unfortunate monarch in nearly the same language. He is equally cautious where he argues that marriage is only a civil contract, an opinion acted upon by his party during the Interregnum. In vol. II. p. 323. a favourable opportunity presented itself for inveighing against Archbishop Laud’s consecration of churches, at that time one of the favourite topics of abuse among the Puritanical party, and probably alluded to in *Paradise Lost* :

..... God attributes to place  
 No sanctity, if none be thither brought  
 By men who there frequent, or therein dwell.  
 XI. 836.

But neither in this place, nor in his remarks on the sanctification of the Sabbath, another of the contro-

\* II. 202.

† Prose Works, III. 69.

verted subjects of his day, and not avoided by the author in his political writings (see *Eiconoclastes*, II. 405.) is a single expression employed which can expose him to the charge of substituting the language of the polemic for that of the divine, or of forgetting the calmness befitting the character of an inquirer after religious truth, to indulge in a second triumph over a political adversary.

Many doubts hitherto entertained respecting the real opinions of Milton on certain subjects are removed by the present treatise, to which, as originally intended for a posthumous work, no suspicion of insincerity can attach. Of all the charges indeed which private or political prejudice has created against the author, that of being a 'time-server,' according to the reproach of Warburton, seems to have been the least deserved. The honesty of his sentiments is sufficiently vindicated by the boldness with which he uniformly expressed them in times when freedom of speech was more than ordinarily dangerous, as well as by his consistent exposure of what he conceived to be erroneous, whether advocated by his own friends or by his opponents. Thus on discovering that 'new presbyter was but old priest writ large,' he resisted the encroachments of the presbyterians, as resolutely as he had before contributed to overthrow prelacy; and, if it were necessary, his political independence might be no less successfully vindicated by adducing the spirited language which he addressed to Cromwell in the zenith of his power. He has however been

charged with concealing his opinions on a subject of no less importance than Popery, and even of entertaining a secret inclination in its favour. This imputation, considering the multifariousness of Milton's writings, may perhaps have received same colour from the silence which he generally observes with regard to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, although incidental phrases, sufficiently indicative of the soundness of his Protestant principles, sometimes occur. See particularly his '*Treatise on true Religion*,' in which he recommends the study of the Bible to all classes of men, as the best preservative against Popery. His reason for not entering upon the subject more at large is assigned in the preface to the present work, and it is simply this, that the cause of Protestantism appeared to be so firmly established as to stand in no need of his services. He professed to employ his pen, as we learn from his own testimony,\* only where, in his judgement, the good of his country or the interests of religion required it. Acting on this principle, he undertook successively to oppose episcopacy, to advocate the cause of liberty, of education, and of a free press. But perceiving, as he tells us, that the strong holds of the reformed religion were sufficiently fortified, as far as they were exposed to danger from the Papists, he directed his attention to more neglected subjects, and exerted his talents in the defence of civil or of religious liberty.† Encouraged perhaps by this comparative silence, and pre-

\* *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*. Prose Works, V. 233.

† Preface, p. 4.



suming on the supposed absence of additional written evidence to falsify his statement, Titus Oates did not scruple to accuse Milton of being a member of a Popish Club. 'The Popish lord is not forgotten, or unknown, who brought a petition to the late regicides and usurpers, signed by about five hundred principal Papists in England; wherein was promised, upon condition of a toleration of the Popish religion here by law, their joint resolution to abjure and exclude the family of the Stuarts for ever from their undoubted right to the Crown. Who more disheartened the loyalty and patience of your best subjects than their confident scribblers, White and others? And MILTON was a known frequenter of a Popish club.' See the Address or Dedication to the King prefixed to 'A true Narrative of the Horrid Plot, &c. of the Popish party against the life of his Sacred Majesty, &c. By Titus Oates, D. D. folio, Lond. 1679.' This charge was subsequently copied into 'A History of all the Popish Plots, &c. from the first year of Elizabeth to this present year 1684, by Thos. Long, Prebendary of Exeter,' who says, p. 93. 'Milton was by very many suspected to be a Papist; and *if* Dr. Oates may be believed, was a known frequenter of *the* Popish Club, though he were Cromwell's Secretary.' The evidence furnished by the present publication will show how improbable it is that Milton, who, even within the precincts of the Papal dominions, had been at so little pains to moderate his zeal for the reformed religion, as to be exposed to insult and personal danger in consequence of his known princi-

ples, should have consented to sit at the same secret council-board with his alleged confederates. See particularly vol. I. p. 321, on the marriage of priests; p. 429, on purgatory; vol. II. p. 128, &c. on transubstantiation; p. 136, on the sacrifice of the mass; p. 138, &c. on the five Papistical sacraments; p. 146, on the authority of the Roman pontiffs; p. 177, on traditions; p. 195, on councils.

On the subject of *Divorce*, the line of argument pursued in this treatise coincides with the well-known opinions which Milton has elsewhere so zealously advocated. To his heterodoxy on this point must now be added, what hitherto has been unsuspected, his belief in the lawfulness of polygamy, to which he appears to have been led by the difficulty he found in reconciling the commonly received opinion with the practice of the patriarchs. It seems however no less easy to conceive that the Supreme Lawgiver might dispense with his own laws in the early ages of the world, for the sake of multiplying the population in a quicker ratio, than that marriages between brothers and sisters might be then permitted on account of the paucity of inhabitants on the face of the earth. Yet the existence of the latter practice in the primeval ages has never been alleged as a sufficient authority for the intermarriage of so near relations, now that the reason for the original permission has ceased to operate.

Doubts have always been entertained as to the real sentiments of Milton respecting the second person of

the Trinity. Newton indeed is assiduous in praising his theological views, although he once so far qualifies his assertion, as to content himself with pronouncing that Milton is 'generally truly orthodox.' War-ton however has acknowledged the justice of Mr. Calton's remark on a memorable passage in *Paradise Regained*, (l. 161—167.) that not a word is there said of the Son of God, but what a Socinian, or at least an Arian, would allow. The truth is, that whoever takes the trouble of comparing with each other the passages referred to in the note below, will find real and important contradictions in the language of Milton on this subject.\* That these contradictions should exist, will cease to appear extraordinary after a perusal of the chapter 'On the Son of God' in the ensuing pages. It is there asserted that the Son existed in the beginning, and was the first of the whole creation; by whose delegated power all things were made in heaven and earth; begotten, not by natural necessity, but by the decree of the Father, within the limits of time; endued with the divine nature and substance, but distinct from and inferior to the Father; one with the Father in love and unanimity of will, and receiving every thing, in his filial as well as in his mediatorial character, from the Father's gift. This summary will be sufficient to show that the opinions of Milton were in reality nearly Arian, ascribing to the Son as high a share of divinity as was compatible with the denial of his self-

\* *Paradise Lost*, III. 62—64. 138—140. 305—307. 350. 384—415. V. 603—605. 719, 720. VI. 676—884. X. 63—67. 85, 86. 225, 226.

existence and eternal generation, but not admitting his co-equality and co-essentiality with the Father. That he entertained different views at other periods of his life, is evident from several expressions scattered through his works. The following stanza occurs in the ode on the morning of Christ's Nativity, written, according to Warton, as a college exercise at the age of twenty-one.

That glorious form, that light unsufferable,  
And that far-beaming blaze of majesty,  
Wherewith he wont at Heaven's high council-table  
To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,  
He laid aside, and here with us to be,  
Forsook the courts of everlasting day,  
And chose with us a darksome house of mortal clay.

A few years afterwards he wrote thus in his first controversial work : ' Witness the Arians and Pelagians, which were slain by the heathen for Christ's sake, yet we take both these for no true friends of Christ.'\* In the same tract he speaks of the ' hard measure ' dealt out to the ' faithful and invincible Athanasius ; ' and in the treatise ' On Prelatical Episcopacy,' published shortly afterwards, he holds the following important language : ' Suppose Tertullian had made an imparity where none was originally ; should he move us that goes about to prove an imparity between God the Father and God the Son ?.....Believe him now for a faithful relater of tradition, whom you see such

\* *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 7.

an unfaithful expounder of the Scripture.\* Whether Milton would have ceased to hold the doctrines espoused by him in his earlier years, had he lived subsequently to the times of Bishop Bull and of Waterland, it is now useless to conjecture. The pride of reason, though disclaimed by him with remarkable, and probably with sincere earnestness, formed a principal ingredient in his character, and would have presented, under any circumstances, a formidable obstacle to the reception of the true faith. But we may be permitted to regret that the mighty mind of Milton, in its conscientious, though mistaken search after truth, had not an opportunity of examining those masterly refutations of the Arian scheme, for which Christianity is indebted to the labours of those distinguished ornaments of the English Church.

With respect to the cardinal doctrine of the atonement, the opinions of Milton are expressed throughout in the strongest and most unqualified manner. No attentive reader of *Paradise Lost* can have failed to remark, that the poem is constructed on the fundamental principle that the sacrifice of Christ was strictly vicarious ; that not only was man redeemed, but a real price, ' life for life,' was paid for his redemption. The same system will be found fully and unequivocally maintained in this treatise ; and much as it is to be regretted that it cannot be said, in the author's

\* *Prose Works*, I. 72.

own words elsewhere, of the Son of God as delineated in the following pages, that

. . . . . in him all his Father shone  
Substantially express'd,

yet the translator rejoices in being able to state that the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ is so scripturally and unambiguously enforced, as to leave, on that point, nothing to be desired.

Milton's sentiments respecting the divine decrees are as clear, and perhaps as satisfactory, as can be expected on a subject in which it is wisest and safest to confess with the cautious Locke our inability to reconcile the universal prescience of God with the free agency of man, though we be as fully persuaded of both doctrines, as of any truths we most firmly assent to. His views may be thus summarily stated; that every thing is foreknown by God, though not decreed absolutely. He argues that the Deity, having in his power to confer or withhold the liberty of the will, showed his sovereignty in conceding it to man, as effectually as he could have done in depriving him of it; that he therefore created him a free agent, foreseeing the use which he would make of his liberty, and shaping his decrees accordingly, inasmuch as the issue of events, though uncertain as regards man, by reason of the freedom of the human will, is perfectly known to God, by reason of the divine prescience. This is, on the one hand, in direct opposition to the doctrine of the Socinians, that there can be no certain

foreknowledge of future contingencies ; and on the other, to that of the Supralapsarians, that the Deity is the causal source of human actions, and consequently that the decrees of God are antecedent to his prescience. In treating of the latter topic, Milton justly protests against the use of a phraseology when speaking of the Deity, which properly applies to finite beings alone.

There are other subjects, and particularly that of the Holy Spirit, to which the translator had wished to have adverted, had he not been warned, by the length to which the preceding observations have already extended, to abstain from further comment. He cannot however conclude these preliminary remarks, without acknowledging his obligations to W. S. Walker, Esq. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who has not only discharged the greater part of the laborious office of correcting the press, but whose valuable suggestions during the progress of the work have contributed to remove some of its imperfections.

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# JOHN MILTON,

TO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST,

AND TO ALL

WHO PROFESS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,

PEACE, AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE TRUTH,

AND ETERNAL SALVATION

IN GOD THE FATHER, AND IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

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**S**INCE the commencement of the last century, when religion began to be restored from the corruptions of more than thirteen hundred years to something of its original purity, many treatises of theology have been published, conducted according to sounder principles, wherein the chief heads of Christian doctrine are set forth sometimes briefly, sometimes in a more enlarged and methodical order. I think myself obliged, therefore, to declare in the first instance why, if any works have already appeared as perfect as the nature of the subject will admit, I have not remained contented with them—or, if all my predecessors have treated it unsuccessfully, why their failure has not deterred me from attempting an undertaking of a similar kind.

If I were to say that I had devoted myself to the study of the Christian religion because nothing else can so effectually rescue the lives and minds of men from those two detestable curses, slavery and superstition,\* I should seem to have acted rather from a regard to my highest earthly comforts, than from a religious motive.

But since it is only to the individual faith of each that the Deity has opened the way of eternal salvation, and as he requires that he who would be saved should have a personal belief of his own,† I resolved not to repose on the faith or judgment of others in matters relating to God; but on the one hand, having taken the grounds of my faith from divine revelation alone, and on the other, having neglected nothing which depended on my own industry, I thought fit to scrutinize and ascertain for myself the several points of my religious belief, by the most careful perusal and meditation of the Holy Scriptures themselves.

If therefore I mention what has proved beneficial in my own practice, it is in the hope that others,

\* 'Vota vestra et preces ardentissimas Deus, cum servitutis haud uno genere oppressi ad eum confugistis, benigne exaudiat. Quæ duo in vitâ hominum mala sane maxima sunt, et virtuti damnosissima, tyrannis et superstitio, iis vos gentium primos gloriose liberavit.' *Pro Pop. Anglican. Defens.* ad finem. Milton's Prose Works, Symmons's Edition, Vol. V. p. 195.

† . . . . . What but unbuild  
His living temples, built by faith to stand,  
Their own faith, not another's?—*Paradise Lost*, XII. 526.

who have a similar wish of improving themselves, may be thereby invited to pursue the same method. I entered upon an assiduous course of study in my youth, beginning with the books of the Old and New Testament in their original languages, and going diligently through a few of the shorter systems of divines, in imitation of whom I was in the habit of classing under certain heads whatever passages of Scripture occurred for extraction, to be made use of hereafter as occasion might require. At length I resorted with increased confidence to some of the more copious theological treatises, and to the examination of the arguments advanced by the conflicting parties respecting certain disputed points of faith. But, to speak the truth with freedom as well as candour, I was concerned to discover in many instances adverse reasonings either evaded by wretched shifts, or attempted to be refuted, rather speciously than with solidity, by an affected display of formal sophisms, or by a constant recourse to the quibbles of the grammarians ; while what was most pertinaciously espoused as the true doctrine, seemed often defended, with more vehemence than strength of argument, by misconstructions of Scripture, or by the hasty deduction of erroneous inferences. Owing to these causes, the truth was sometimes as strenuously opposed as if it had been an error or a heresy—while errors and heresies were substituted

for the truth, and valued rather from deference to custom and the spirit of party, than from the authority of Scripture.

According to my judgement, therefore, neither my creed nor my hope of salvation could be safely trusted to such guides ; and yet it appeared highly requisite to possess some methodical tractate of Christian doctrine, or at least to attempt such a disquisition as might be useful in establishing my faith or assisting my memory. I deemed it therefore safest and most advisable to compile for myself, by my own labour and study, some original treatise which should be always at hand, derived solely from the word of God itself, and executed with all possible fidelity, seeing that I could have no wish to practise any imposition on myself in such a matter.

After a diligent perseverance in this plan for several years, I perceived that the strong holds of the reformed religion were sufficiently fortified, as far as it was in danger from the Papists,—but neglected in many other quarters ; neither competently strengthened with works of defence, nor adequately provided with champions. It was also evident to me, that, in religion as in other things, the offers of God were all directed, not to an indolent credulity, but to constant diligence, and to an unwearied search after truth ; and that more than I was aware of still re-

mained, which required to be more rigidly examined by the rule of Scripture, and reformed after a more accurate model. I so far satisfied myself in the prosecution of this plan as at length to trust that I had discovered, with regard to religion, what was matter of belief, and what only matter of opinion. It was also a great solace to me to have compiled, by God's assistance, a precious aid for my faith,—or rather to have laid up for myself a treasure which would be a provision for my future life, and would remove from my mind all grounds for hesitation, as often as it behoved me to render an account of the principles of my belief.

If I communicate the result of my inquiries to the world at large ; if, as God is my witness, it be with a friendly and benignant feeling towards mankind, that I readily give as wide a circulation as possible to what I esteem my best and richest possession, I hope to meet with a candid reception from all parties, and that none at least will take unjust offence, even though many things should be brought to light which will at once be seen to differ from certain received opinions. I earnestly beseech all lovers of truth, not to cry out that the Church is thrown into confusion by that freedom of discussion and inquiry which is granted to the schools, and ought certainly to be refused to no believer, since we are ordered *to prove all things*, and since the daily progress of



the light of truth is productive far less of disturbance to the Church, than of illumination and edification. Nor do I see how the Church can be more disturbed by the investigation of truth, than were the Gentiles by the first promulgation of the gospel; since so far from recommending or imposing anything on my own authority, it is my particular advice that every one should suspend his opinion on whatever points he may not feel himself fully satisfied, till the evidence of Scripture prevail, and persuade his reason into assent and faith. Concealment is not my object; it is to the learned that I address myself, or if it be thought that the learned are not the best umpires and judges of such things, I should at least wish to submit my opinions to men of a mature and manly understanding, possessing a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel; on whose judgements I should rely with far more confidence, than on those of novices in these matters.\* And whereas the greater part of those who have written most largely on these subjects have been wont to fill whole pages with explanations of their own opinions, thrusting into the margin the texts in support of their doctrine, with a summary reference to the chapter and verse; I have chosen, on the con-

\* 'I seek not to seduce the simple and illiterate; my errand is to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of wisdom to answer solidly, or to be convinced' *Address to the Parliament of England*, prefixed to *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. Prose Works, I. 341.

trary, to fill my pages even to redundancy with quotations from Scripture, that so as little space as possible might be left for my own words, even when they arise from the context of revelation itself.

It has also been my object to make it appear from the opinions I shall be found to have advanced, whether new or old, of how much consequence to the Christian religion is the liberty not only of winnowing and sifting every doctrine,\* but also of thinking and even writing respecting it, according to our individual faith and persuasion;† an inference which will be stronger in proportion to the weight and importance of those opinions, or rather in proportion to the authority of Scripture, on the abundant testimony of which they rest. Without this liberty there is neither religion nor gospel—force alone prevails,—by which it is disgraceful for the Christian religion to be supported. Without this liberty we are still en-

\* 'Sad it is to think how that doctrine of the Gospel, planted by teachers divinely inspired, and by them winnowed and sifted from the chaff of overdated ceremonies,' &c. *Of Reformation in England*. Prose Works, I. 1.

† 'For me, I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the Church's good.' *The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelaty*. Prose Works, I. 116. 'To Protestants, therefore, whose common rule and touchstone is the Scripture, nothing can with more conscience, more equity, nothing more Protestantly can be permitted, than a free and lawful debate at all times by writing, conference, or disputation of what opinion soever, disputable by Scripture; concluding that no man in religion is properly a heretic at this day, but he who maintains traditions or opinions not probable by Scripture, who for aught I know is the Papist only; he the only heretic who counts all heretics but himself.' *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*. Prose Works, III. 326.

slaved, not indeed, as formerly, under the divine law, but, what is worst of all, under the law of man, or to speak more truly, under a barbarous tyranny. But I do not expect from candid and judicious readers a conduct so unworthy of them,—that like certain unjust and foolish men, they should stamp with the invidious name of heretic or heresy whatever appears to them to differ from the received opinions, without trying the doctrine by a comparison with Scripture testimonies.\* According to their notions, to have branded any one at random with this opprobrious mark, is to have refuted him without any trouble, by a single word. By the simple imputation of the name of heretic, they think that they have despatched their man at one blow. To men of this kind I answer, that in the time of the apostles, ere the New Testament was written, when ever the charge

\* ‘But we shall not carry it thus; another Greek apparition stands in our way, Heresy and Heretic; in like manner also railed at to the people as in a tongue unknown.....In apostolic time, therefore, ere the Scripture was written, heresy was a doctrine maintained against the doctrine by them delivered; which in these times can be no otherwise defined than a doctrine maintained against the light, which we now only have, of the Scripture.’ *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*. Prose Works, III. 325. And again, in *The Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelaty*. ‘As for those terrible names of sectaries and schismatics, which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments, which is ever thin, and weakly stored, after the first brunt is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver of slander, wherein lies your best archery. And whom you could not move by sophistical arguing, them you think to confute by scandalous misnaming; thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to mislike and deride sound doctrine and good Christianity, under two or three vile and hateful terms.’ I. 104.

of heresy was applied as a term of reproach, that alone was considered as heresy which was at variance with their doctrine orally delivered,—and that those only were looked upon as heretics, who according to *Rom. xvi. 17, 18.* ‘caused divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine’ of the apostles.....‘serving not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly.’ By parity of reasoning therefore, since the compilation of the New Testament, I maintain that nothing but what is in contradiction to it can properly be called heresy.

For my own part, I adhere to the Holy Scriptures alone—I follow no other heresy or sect. I had not even read any of the works of heretics, so called, when the mistakes of those who are reckoned for orthodox,\* and their incautious handling of Scripture, first taught me to agree with their opponents whenever those opponents agreed with Scripture. If this be heresy, I confess with St. Paul, *Acts xxiv. 14.* ‘that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets’—to which I add, whatever is written in the New Testament. Any other judges or chief interpreters of the Christian belief, together with all implicit faith, as it is called,

\* ‘Yea those that are reckoned for orthodox, began to make sad and shameful rents in the Church about the trivial celebration of feasts,’ &c. *Of Reformation in England.* Prose Works, I. 15.

I, in common with the whole Protestant Church, refuse to recognize.\*

For the rest, brethren, cultivate truth with brotherly love. Judge of my present undertaking according to the admonishing of the Spirit of God—and neither adopt my sentiments, nor reject them, unless every doubt has been removed from your belief by the clear testimony of revelation. Finally, live in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Farewell.

\* ‘ With good and religious reason, therefore, all Protestant Churches with one consent, and particularly the Church of England in her thirty-nine Articles, Artic 6th. 19th. 20th. 21st. and elsewhere, maintain these two points, as the main principles of true religion ; that the rule of true religion is the word of God only : and that this faith ought not to be an implicit faith, that is, to believe, though as the Church believes, against or without express authority of Scripture ’ *Of true Religion, &c.* Prose Works, IV. 260. And again, in the same treatise—‘ This is the direct way to bring in that papistical implicit faith, which we all disclaim.’ IV. 268.

A  
POSTHUMOUS TREATISE  
ON THE  
**CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,**  
COMPILED FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ALONE:  
IN TWO BOOKS:  
BY  
**JOHN MILTON.**

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**BOOK I.**

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**CHAPTER I.**

OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, AND THE NUMBER OF ITS  
DIVISIONS.

**T**HE *Christian Doctrine* is that *divine revelation* disclosed to all ages by *Christ* (though he was not known under that name in the beginning) concerning the nature and worship of the Deity, for the promotion of the glory of God, and the salvation of mankind.

It is not unreasonable to assume that Christians believe in the Scriptures whence this doctrine is derived—but the authority of those Scriptures will be examined in the proper place.

*Christ. Matt. xi. 27.* ‘neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.’ *John i. 4.* ‘in him was life, and the life was the light of men.’ *v. 9.* ‘that was

the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' 1 *Pet.* iii. 19. 'by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison.'

Under the definition of *Christ* are also comprehended Moses and the Prophets, who were his fore-runners, and the Apostles whom he sent. *Gal.* iii. 24. 'the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.' *Heb.* xiii. 8. 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.' *Col.* ii. 17. 'which are a shadow of things to come : but the body is of Christ.' 1 *Pet.* i. 10, 11. 'who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you : searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify.' *Rom.* i. 1. 'Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ :' in which manner he begins nearly all the rest of his epistles. 1 *Cor.* iv. 1. 'let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ.'

*Divine Revelation.* *Isai.* li. 4. 'a law shall proceed from me.' *Matt.* xvi. 17. 'flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.' *John* vi. 46. 'they shall be all taught of God.' ix. 29. 'we know that God spake unto Moses.' *Gal.* i. 11, 12. 'the gospel which was preached of me is not after man ; for I neither received it of man.' 1 *Thess.* iv. 9. 'ye yourselves are taught of God.'

This doctrine, therefore, is to be obtained, not from the schools of the philosophers, nor from the laws of man, but from the Holy Scriptures alone, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. 2 *Tim.* i. 14. 'that good thing which was committed unto

thee keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us.' *Col.* ii. 8. 'lest any man spoil you through philosophy.' *Dan.* iii. 16. 'we are not careful to answer thee in this matter.' *Acts* iv. 19. 'whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.'

In this treatise then no novelties of doctrine are taught; but for the sake of assisting the memory, what is dispersed throughout the different parts of the Holy Scriptures is conveniently reduced into one compact body as it were, and digested under certain heads. This method might be easily defended on the ground of Christian prudence, but it seems better to rest its authority on the divine command; *Matt.* xiii. 52. 'every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man which is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old.' So also the Apostle says, *2 Tim.* i. 13. 'hold fast the form'—which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to have determined to adopt as the rule of his own conduct for teaching the heads of Christian doctrine in methodical arrangement: *vi.* 1—3. 'of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God, of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment; and this will we do, if God permit.' This usage of the Christians was admirably suited for Catechumens when first professing their faith in the Church. Allusion is made to the same system in *Rom.* vi. 17. 'ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you.' In this passage



the Greek word *τυπὸς*, as well as *ὑποτύπωσις* *2 Tim.* i. 13. seems to signify either that part of the evangelical Scriptures which were then written (as in *Rom.* ii. 20. *μόρφωσις*, 'the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law,' signified the law itself) or some systematic course of instruction derived from them or from the whole doctrine of the gospel. *Acts* xx. 27. 'I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God'—which must mean some entire body of doctrine, formed according to a certain plan, though probably not of great extent, since the whole was gone through, and perhaps even repeated several times during St. Paul's stay at Ephesus, which was about the space of three years.

Christian doctrine is comprehended under two divisions,—*Faith*, or *the knowledge of God*,—and ✓ *Love*, or *the worship of God*. *Gen.* xvii. 1. 'walk before me, and be thou perfect.' *Psal.* xxxvii. 3. 'trust in Jehovah, and do good.' *Luke* xi. 28. 'blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it.' *Acts* xxiv. 14. 'believing all things'—and v. 16. 'herein do I exercise myself.' *2 Tim.* i. 13. 'hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and in love which is in Christ Jesus.' *1 Tim.* i. 19. 'holding faith and a good conscience.' *Tit.* iii. 8. 'that they which have believed might be careful—.' *1 John* iii. 23. 'that we should believe and love.'

These two divisions, though they are distinct in their own nature, and put asunder for the convenience of teaching, cannot be separated in practice. *Rom.* ii. 13. 'not the hearers of the law, but the

doers of the law shall be justified.' *James* i. 22. 'be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only.' Besides; obedience and love are always the best guides to knowledge, and often lead the way from small beginnings, to a greater and more flourishing degree of proficiency. *Psal.* xxv. 14. 'the secret of Jehovah is with them that fear him.' *John* vii. 17. 'if any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine.' viii. 31, 32. 'if ye continue in my word . . . . . ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.' 1 *John* ii. 3. 'hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments.'

It must be observed, that Faith in this division does not mean the habit of believing, but the things to be habitually believed. So *Acts* vi. 7. 'were obedient to the faith.' *Gal.* i. 23. 'he preacheth the faith.'

## CHAPTER II.

### OF GOD.

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**T**HOUGH there be not a few who deny the existence of *God*,\* for 'the fool hath said in his heart, There is no God,' *Psal.* xiv. 1. yet the Deity has imprinted upon the human mind so many unquestionable tokens of himself, and so many traces of him are apparent throughout the whole of nature, that no one in his senses can remain ignorant of the truth. *Job* xii. 9. 'who knoweth not in all these that the hand of Jehovah hath wrought this?' *Psal.* xix. 1. 'the heavens declare the glory of God,' *Acts* xiv. 17. 'he left not himself without witness.' xvii. 27, 28. 'he is not far from every one of us.' *Rom.* i. 19, 20. 'that which may be known of God is manifest in them.' and ii. 14, 15. 'the Gentiles.... shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness.' 1 *Cor.* i. 21. 'after that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.' There can

\* Unless there be, who think not God at all :  
If any be, they walk obscure ;  
For of such doctrine never was there school,  
But the heart of the fool,  
And no man therein doctor but himself.—*Samson Agonistes*, 295.

be no doubt but that every thing in the world, by the beauty of its order, and the evidence of a determinate and beneficial purpose which pervades it, testifies that some supreme efficient Power must have pre-existed, by which the whole was ordained for a specific end.

There are some who pretend that nature or fate is this supreme power : \* but the very name of nature implies that it must owe its birth to some prior agent, or, to speak properly, signifies in itself nothing ; but means either the essence of a thing, or that general law which is the origin of every thing, and under which every thing acts,—and fate can be nothing but a divine decree emanating from some almighty power.

Further, those who attribute the creation of every thing to nature, must necessarily associate chance with nature as a joint divinity ; so that they gain nothing by this theory, except that in the place of that one God, whom they cannot tolerate, they are obliged, however reluctantly, to substitute two sovereign rulers of affairs, who must almost always be in opposition to each other. In short, many ocular demonstrations, many true predictions verified, many wonderful works have compelled all nations to be-

\* .....that Power

Which erring men call Chance.— *Comus*, 688.

In allusion to the doctrines of the Stoicks, &c. Seneca *De Beneficiis*, iv. 8. ' Sic hunc naturam vocas, fatum, fortunam ; omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt, varie utentis sua potestate.' *Nat. Quæst.* ii. 45. ' Vis illum fatum vocare ? non errabis.' The next clauses of this sentence contain in the original two of those conceits which are so frequent in Milton's works, and which can scarcely be preserved in a translation. The passage stands thus—' sed natura natam se fatetur, &c. . . . et fatum quid nisi effatum divinum omnipotentia cujuspiam numinis potest esse ? '

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lieve, either that God, or that some evil power whose name was unknown, presided over the affairs of the world. Now that evil should prevail over good, and be the true supreme power, is as unmeet as it is incredible. Hence it follows as a necessary consequence, that God exists.

Again : the existence of God is further proved by that feeling, whether we term it conscience, or right reason,\* which even in the worst of characters is not altogether extinguished. If there were no God, there would be no distinction between right and wrong ; the estimate of virtue and vice would entirely depend on the blind opinion of men ; no one would follow virtue, no one would be restrained from vice by any sense of shame, or fear of the laws, unless conscience or right reason did from time to time convince every one, however unwilling, of the existence of God, the Lord and ruler of all things, to whom, sooner or later, each must give an account of his own actions, whether good or bad.

The whole tenor of Scripture proves the same thing ; and the disciples of the doctrine of Christ may fairly be required to give assent to this truth in the first instance, according to the expression in *Heb.* xi. 6. ‘ he that cometh to God, must believe that he is.’ It is proved also by the dispersion of the Jews throughout the whole world, according to what God often forewarned them would happen on

\* Since thy original lapse, true liberty  
Is lost, which always with right reason dwells  
I winn’d. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 93.

‘*Recte rationi obtemperare discite.*’ *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*.  
Prose Works, V. 266.

account of their sins. Nor is it only to pay the penalty of their own guilt that they have been reserved in their scattered state, among the rest of the nations, through the revolution of successive ages, and even to the present day; but rather to be a perpetual and living testimony to all people under heaven, of the existence of God, and of the truth of the Holy Scriptures.

No one, however, can have right thoughts of God, with nature or reason alone as his guide, independent of the word, or message of God.\* *Rom. x. 14.* 'how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?'

God is known, so far as he is pleased to make us acquainted with himself, either from his own nature, or from his efficient power.

When we speak of knowing God, it must be understood with reference to the imperfect comprehension of man; for to know God as he really is, far transcends the powers of man's thoughts, much more of his perception. *1 Tim. vi. 16.* 'dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto.' God therefore has made as full a revelation of himself as our minds can conceive, or the weak-

\* Left only in those written records pure,

Though not but by the Spirit understood. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 513.

'It will require no great labour of exposition to unfold what is here meant by matters of religion; being as soon apprehended as defined, such things as belong chiefly to the knowledge and service of God, and are either above the reach and light of nature without revelation from above, and therefore liable to be variously understood by human reason,' &c. *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*. Prose Works, III. 320. 'True religion is the true worship and service of God, learnt and believed from the word of God only. No man or angel can know how God would be worshipped and served, unless God reveal it.' *Of True Religion*, &c. IV. 269.

ness of our nature can bear. *Exod.* xxxiii. 20, 23. 'there shall no man see me and live . . . . but thou shalt see my back parts.' *Isai.* vi. 1 'I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.' *John* i. 18. 'no man hath seen God at any time.' vi. 46. 'not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father.' v. 37. 'ye have neither heard his voice at any time.' 1 *Cor.* xiii. 12. 'we see through a glass, darkly . . . . in part.'

Our safest way is to form in our minds such a conception of God, as shall correspond with his own delineation and representation of himself in the sacred writings. For granting that both in the literal and figurative descriptions of God, he is exhibited not as he really is, but in such a manner as may be within the scope of our comprehensions, yet we ought to entertain such a conception of him, as he, in condescending to accommodate himself to our capacities, has shewn that he desires we should conceive. For it is on this very account that he has lowered himself to our level, lest in our flights above the reach of human understanding, and beyond the written word of Scripture, we should be tempted to indulge in vague cogitations and subtleties.\*

\* Sollicit not thy thoughts with matters hid :

Leave them to God above ; him serve and fear.

*Paradise Lost*, VIII. 166.

. . . . . Heaven is for thee too high

To know what passes there ; so, lowly wise,

Think only what concerns thee, and thy being ;

Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there

Live, in what state, condition, or degree——.

172.

There is no need then that theologians should have recourse here to what they call *anthropopathy*\*—a figure invented by the grammarians to excuse the absurdities of the poets on the subject of the heathen divinities. We may be sure that sufficient care has been taken that the Holy Scriptures should contain nothing unsuitable to the character or dignity of God, and that God should say nothing of himself which could derogate from his own majesty. It is better therefore to contemplate the Deity, and to conceive of him, not with reference to human passions, that is, after the manner of men, who are never weary of forming subtle imaginations respecting him, but after the manner of Scripture, that is, in the way in which God has offered himself to our contemplation; nor should we think that he would say or direct any thing to be written of himself, which is inconsistent with the opinion he wishes us to entertain of his character. Let us require no better authority than God himself for determining what is worthy or unworthy of him. If ‘it repented Jehovah that he had made man,’ *Gen.* vi. 6. and ‘because of their groanings,’ *Judges* ii. 18. let us believe that it did repent him, only taking care to remember that what is called repentance when applied to God, does not arise from inadvertency, as in men; for so he has himself cautioned us, *Num.* xxiii. 19. ‘God is not a man that he should lie, neither the son of man that he should repent. See also 1 *Sam.*

\* Two ways then may the Spirit of God be said to be grieved, in Himself, in his saints; in Himself, by an *anthropopathie*, as we call it; in his Saints by a *sympathie*; the former is by way of allusion to human passion and carriage. Bp. Hall’s *Rem.* p. 106.



xv. 29. Again, if 'it grieved the Lord at his heart,' *Gen.* vi. 6. and if 'his soul were grieved for the misery of Israel,' *Judges* x. 16, let us believe that it did grieve him. For the affections which in a good man are good, and rank with virtues, in God are holy. If after the work of six days it be said of God that 'he rested and was refreshed,' *Exod.* xxxi. 17. if it be said that 'he feared the wrath of the enemy,' *Deut.* xxxii. 27, let us believe that it is not beneath the dignity of God to grieve in that for which he is grieved, or to be refreshed in that which refresheth him, or to fear in that he feareth. For however we may attempt to soften down such expressions by a latitude of interpretation, when applied to the Deity, it comes in the end to precisely the same. If God be said 'to have made man in his own image, after his likeness,' *Gen.* i. 26. and that too not only as to his soul, but also as to his outward form\* (unless the same words have differ-

\* The Humanitarians held that God was to be understood as having really a human form. See Clarke's *Sermons*, Vol. I. p. 26. fol. edit. The drift of Milton's argument leads him to employ language which would appear at first sight to verge upon their doctrine, but it will be seen immediately that he guards himself against the charge of having adopted one of the most ignorant errors of the dark ages of the Church. The reasoning of Milton on this subject throws great light on a passage in *Paradise Lost*, put into the mouth of Raphael:

..... What surmounts the reach  
Of human sense, I shall delineate so,  
By likening spiritual to corporal forms,  
As may express them best; though what if Earth  
Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein  
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?

Here Newton observes the artful suggestion that there may be a greater similitude and resemblance between things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagined, and supposes it may have been intended as an apology for the bold figures which the Poet has employed. We now see that his deliberate opinion seems to have leaned to the belief that the fabric

ent significations here and in chap. v. 3. 'Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image') and if God habitually assign to himself the members and form of man, why should we be afraid of attributing to him what he attributes to himself, so long as what is imperfection and weakness when viewed in reference to ourselves be considered as most complete and excellent whenever it is imputed to God. Questionless the glory and majesty of the Deity must have been so dear to him, that he would never say anything of himself which could be humiliating or degrading, and would ascribe to himself no personal attribute which he would not willingly have ascribed to him by his creatures. Let us be convinced that those have acquired the truest apprehension of the nature of God who submit their understandings to his word; inasmuch as he has accommodated his word to their understandings, and has shown what he wishes their notion of the Deity should be.

To speak summarily, God either is, or is not, such as he represents himself to be. If he be really such, why should we think otherwise of him? If he be not such, on what authority do we say what God has not said? If at least it be his will that we should thus think of him, why does our imagination wander into some other conception? Why should we hesitate to conceive of God according to what he has not hesitated to declare explicitly respecting himself? For such knowledge of the Deity as was necessary for the salvation of man, he has himself of his goodness been pleased to reveal abundantly.

of the invisible world was the pattern of the visible. Mede introduces a hint of a similar kind in his tenth discourse, as Newton remarks.

*Deut. xxix. 29.* 'the secret things belong unto Jehovah, but those things which are revealed belong unto us.....that we may do them.'

In arguing thus, we do not say that God is in fashion like unto man in all his parts and members, but that as far as we are concerned to know, he is of that form which he attributes to himself in the sacred writings. If therefore we persist in entertaining a different conception of the Deity than that which it is to be presumed he desires should be cherished, inasmuch as he has himself disclosed it to us, we frustrate the purposes of God instead of rendering him submissive obedience. As if, forsooth, we wished to show that it was not we who had thought too meanly of God, but God who had thought too meanly of us.

It is impossible to comprehend accurately under any form of definition the 'divine nature,' for so it is called, *2 Pet. i. 4.* 'that ye might be partakers of the divine nature'—though nature does not here signify essence, but the divine image, as in *Gal. iv. 8.* 'which by nature are no Gods,' and *θεοτης Col. ii. 9. θειοτης Rom. i. 20. τὸ θεῖον Acts xvii. 29.* which are all translated 'Godhead.' But though the nature of God cannot be defined, since he who has no efficient cause is essentially greatest of all, *Isai. xxviii. 29.* some description of it at least may be collected from his names and attributes.

The *names* and *attributes* of God either show his nature, or his divine power and excellence. There are three names which seem principally to intimate the nature of God,—יהוה *Jehovah*—יה *Jah*—יהוה *Ehie*. Even the name of Jehovah was not forbid-

den to be pronounced, provided it was with due reverence. *Exod.* iii. 15. Jehovah, God of your fathers.....this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial.' xx. 7. 'thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain.' Again, it occurs pronounced, 1 *Kings* xvii. 12. 'as Jehovah thy God liveth,' and so in many other places. This name both in the New Testament and in the Greek version of the Old is always translated *Kύριος*—the *Lord*,—probably for no other reason than because the word Jehovah could not be expressed in Greek letters. Its signification is, 'he who is,' or, 'which is. and which was, and which is to come,' *Rev.* i. 4. Jah, which is a sort of contraction of the former name, has the same signification. *Exod.* xvii. 16. 'Jah hath sworn'—and in other places. *Exod.* iii. 14. אֶהְיֶה *Ehie*, 'I am that I am,' or 'will be;'<sup>\*</sup> and if the first person be changed into the third of the kindred verb, Jave, *who is*, or *will be*,—meaning the same

<sup>\*</sup>The original of this passage presents considerable difficulty. It is thus written in the manuscript: 'Cap. iii. 14. אֶהְיֶה *Ehie*, *qui sum vel ero*, et persona prima in tertiam affinis verbi mutatur Jehovah, *qui est vel erit*, idem quod Jehova, ut quidam putant illisque vocabulis rectius prolatum.' In the translation I have considered *Ehie qui sum vel ero*, as an absolute sentence; and conceiving the next clause to have been incorrectly transcribed, I have rendered it as if it had been written—et si persona prima in tertiam affinis verbi mutatur, Jave, *qui est*, vel *erit*, &c. Simon in his Hebrew Lexicon has the following remark on the word אֶהְיֶה: 'אֶהְיֶה nomen proprium Dei, a Mose demum introductum, eum qui re praestitutus sit, quod olim promiserit, ex ipsa loci Mosaiici authentica explicatione, *Exod.* iii. 14. significans, adeoque אֶהְיֶה vel אֶהְיֶה proprie efferendum, ut ex veteribus Theodoretus et Epiphanius *Jahe*, h. e. *Jave* scripserunt. If the sense of the passage has been rightly conceived, the kindred verb will be אֶהְיֶה *sidi*, *fuit* vel *factus est*. See Simon in voce. See also Buxtorf's *Lexicon ad Rad.* אֶהְיֶה and Cappelli *Vindic. Arcani Punctuationis*, lib. 1. §. 20.

as Jehovah, as some think, and more properly expressed thus than by the other words ; but the name Jave appears to signify not only the existence of his nature, but also of his promises, or rather the completion of his promises ; whence it is said, *Exod. vi. 3.* ‘ by my name *Jehovah* was I not known to them.’ And with what vowel points this name Jehovah ought to be pronounced, is shown by those proper names into the composition of which two of them enter, as Jehosaphat, Jehoram, Jehoiada, and the like. The third, or final vowel point may be supplied by analogy from the two other divine names, יהוה and יהו.

I. The first of the attributes which show the inherent nature of God, is *Truth*. *Jer. x. 10.* ‘ Jehovah is the true God.’ *John xvii. 3.* ‘ that they might know thee the only true God.’ *1 Thess. i. 9.* ‘ the living and true God.’ *1 John v. 20.* ‘ that we may know him that is true.’

II. Secondly, God, considered in his most simple nature, is a *Spirit*. *Exod. iii. 14, 15.* ‘ I am that I am.’ *Rom. xi. 36.* ‘ of him and through him are all things.’ *John iv. 24.* ‘ God is a spirit.’ What a spirit is, or rather what it is not, is shown, *Isai. xxxi. 3.* ‘ flesh, and not spirit.’ *Luke xxiv. 39.* ‘ a spirit hath not flesh and bones.’ Whence it is evident that the essence of God, being in itself most simple, can admit no compound quality ; so that the term *hypostasis*, *Heb. i. 3.\** which is differently trans-

\* *ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς ὑποστάσις αὐτοῦ.* the express image of his person. Authorized Transl. *exact image of his substance.* Macknight. ‘ Concerning the word *ὑποστάσις*, rendered in our Bibles, *person*, it hath been observed by commentators, that it did not obtain that signification till after the Council of Nice. Our translators have rendered *ὑποστάσις*, *Heb. xi. 1.* by the word *substance.*’ Mackn. *in loc.*

lated *substance*, or *subsistence*, or *person*, can be nothing else but that most perfect essence by which God subsists by himself, in himself, and through himself. For neither *substance* nor *subsistence* make any addition to what is already a most perfect essence ; and the word *person* in its later acceptation signifies any individual thing gifted with intelligence, while *hypostasis* denotes not the ens itself, but the essence of the ens in the abstract. Hypostasis, therefore, is clearly the same as essence, and thus many of the Latin commentators\* render it in the passage already quoted. Therefore, as God is a most simple essence, so is he also a most simple subsistence.

III. *Immensity and Infinity.*† 1 Kings viii. 27. ✓  
 ‘the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee.’ Job xi. 8. ‘it is as high as heaven . . . . . deeper than hell.’ xxxvi. 26. ‘God is great, and we know him not.’

IV. *Eternity.* It is universally acknowledged that ✓  
 nothing is eternal, strictly speaking, but what has neither beginning nor end,‡ both which properties are attributed to God, not indeed in each of the fol-

\* *Imago essentiae ejus.* Tremellius.

† Thee, Father, first they sung Omnipotent,  
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,  
 Eternal King. *Paradise Lost*, III. 372.

Another expression of great beauty is used in Samson Agonistes to denote the same attribute :

As if they would confine the Interminable,  
 And tie him to his own prescript. 307.

‡ The disputes among the schoolmen respecting the proper definition of eternity could not have been forgotten by Milton. It appears therefore that at this time the famous definition of Boëthius was generally rejected—*æternitas est interminabilis vitæ tota simul et perfecta possessio*. According to these terms God would not necessarily have been without a beginning.

lowing passages separately, but as a plain deduction from the several texts when compared together. *Job* xxxvi. 26. 'neither can the number of his years be searched out.' *Gen.* xxi. 33. 'the everlasting God,' literally, 'the God of old time *or* ages.' *Psal.* xc. 2. 'from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God, *or* from age to age.' cii. 12. 'but thou, O Jehovah, shalt endure for ever.' v. 24. 'thy years are through all generations.' v. 27. 'but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end.' *Psal.* cxlv. 13. 'thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom.' *Isai.* xliii. 10. 'before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me.' xlv. 6. 'I am the first, and I am the last.' *Habak.* i. 12. 'art thou not from everlasting,' literally 'from old time.'

The evidence of the New Testament is still clearer, because the Greek word signifies *to exist for ever*.<sup>\*</sup> *Rom.* vi. 26. 'according to the commandment of the everlasting God.' 1 *Tim.* i. 17. 'unto the King eternal.' *Rev.* i. 4. 'from him which is, and which was, and which is to come.'

But all the words used in Scripture to denote eternity, often signify only of old time, or antiquity. *Gen.* vi. 4. 'mighty men which were of old.' *Job* xx. 4. 'knowest thou not this of old, *or* from eternity, since man was placed upon earth?' *Isai.* xlii. 14. 'I have long time holden my peace.' David also seems to have understood that the term *for ever* only intimated *a great while to come*. 2 *Sam.* vii. 13. 'I

\* 'Sic etiam Deus dicitur *qui est, qui erat, et qui futurus est*, Apoc. i. 8. et iv. 8. Deo tamen ævum sive æternitas, non tempus, attribui solet: quid autem est ævum proprie, nisi duratio perpetua, Græce, αἰὼν, quasi *kal aiōn*, semper existens.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*, &c. Prose Works, VI. 224.

will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever,' compared with v. 19. 'thou hast spoken also of thy servant's house for a great while to come.' See also 1 *Chron.* xvii. 12, 14, 17. *John* ix. 32. 'since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind.' *Acts* iii. 21. 'which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.' 2 *Tim.* i. 9. and *Tit.* i. 2. 'before the world began:' and in *Heb.* xi. 3. the word is also used to signify this world, where the Syriac version translates it,—'before the worlds were framed.' From these and many similar texts it appears that the idea of eternity, properly so called, is conveyed in the Hebrew language rather by comparison and deduction than in express words.

V. The *Immutability* of God has an immediate connection with the last attribute. *Psal.* cii. 27. 'but thou art the same.' *Mal.* iii. 6. 'I am Jehovah, I change not.' *James* i. 17. 'with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.'

VI. His *Incorruptibility* is also derived from the fourth attribute. *Psal.* cii. 26. 'thou shalt endure.' *Rom.* i. 23. 'the uncorruptible God. 1 *Tim.* i. 17. 'unto the King immortal.'\*

VII. The next attribute of God, his *Omnipresence*, arises from his infinity. *Psal.* cxxxix. 8, 9. 'if I ascend up into heaven, thou art there,' &c. &c. *Prov.* xv. 3. 'the eyes of Jehovah are in every place.' *Jer.* xxiii. 24. 'do not I fill heaven and earth?' *Eph.* iv. 6. 'who is above all, and through

\* ἀφθαρτῷ incorruptibili. Tremellius. qui non corrumpitur. Beza.



all, and in you all.' Our thoughts of the omnipresence of God, whatever may be the nature of the attribute, should be such as appear most suitable to the reverence due to the Deity.

✓ VIII. *Omnipotence.* 2 *Chron.* xx. 6. 'in thine hand is there not power and might?' *Job* xlii. 2. 'I know that thou canst do every thing.' *Psal.* xxxiii. 9. 'he spake, and it was done.' cxv. 3. 'he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased.' See also cxxxv. 6. *Matt.* xix. 26. 'with God all things are possible.' *Luke* i. 37. 'with God nothing shall be impossible.' Hence the name of El Shaddai, applied to the Deity, *Gen.* xvii. 1. 'I am the Almighty\* God,' literally 'sufficient.' *Ruth* i. 21. 'the Almighty hath afflicted me.' *Jer.* xxxii. 18. 'the Great, the Mighty God, the Lord of Hosts.' *Gen.* xiv. 22. 'Jehovah, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth.' Thus also the name 'אֱלֹהֵינוּ frequently occurs. In the New Testament, 'the Lord Almighty,' 2 *Cor.* vi. 18, and *Rev.* i. 8. 'the only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords,' i. *Tim.* vi. 15. There seems, therefore, an impropriety in the term of *actus purus*, or the active principle, which Aristotle† applies to God, for thus the Deity would have no choice of act, but what he did he would do of necessity, and could do in no other way, which would be inconsistent with his omnipotence and free agency. But it must be observed, that the power of God is not exerted in things which imply a contradiction.‡ 2 *Tim.* ii. 13.

\* *Fortis omnipotens.* Tremellius. *Shaddai.* Hebr. *qui sum sufficiens.*

† See Aristot. *Metaph.* lib. 1. cap. ix. &c. lib. 14. cap. vi. Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, Vol. II. p. 322. Birch's Edit.

‡ Can he make deathless death? That were to make  
Strange contradiction, which to God himself

‘he cannot deny himself.’ *Tit.* i. 2. ‘God, that cannot lie.’ *Heb.* vi. 18. ‘in which it was impossible for God to lie.’

IX. All the preceding attributes may be regarded as necessary causes of the ninth attribute, the *Unity* of God; of which, however, other proofs are not wanting. *Deut.* iv. 35. ‘Jehovah he is God, there is none also beside him.’ v. 39. ‘Jehovah he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath: there is none else.’ vi. 4. ‘hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.’ xxxii. 39. ‘I, even I, am he, and there is no God with me.’ 1 *Kings* viii. 60. ‘that all the people of the earth may know that Jehovah is God, and that there is none else.’ 2 *Kings* xix. 15. ‘thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth.’ *Isai.* xlv. 6. ‘beside me there is no God.’ v. 8. ‘is there a God beside me? yea, there is no God; I know not any.’ xlv. 5. ‘I am Jehovah, and there is none else; there is no God beside me.’ v. 21. ‘there is no God else beside me .....there is none beside me.’ v. 22. ‘I am God, and there is none else’—that is, no spirit, no person, no being beside him is God; for *none* is an universal negative. xlv. 9. ‘I am God, and there is none else: I am God, and there is none like me.’ What can be plainer, what more distinct, what more suitable to general comprehension and the ordinary forms of speech, in order that the people of God might under-

Impossible is held; as argument

Of weakness, not of power.

*Paradise Lost*, X. 798.

‘Cum autem dico potentiae Dei objectum omne esse possibile, per possibile intelligo illud quod non implicat contradictionem ut fiat. Nam quod contradictionem implicat, ne Deus quidem ipse potest.’ Curcellæi *Institutio* II. 2.

stand that there was numerically one God and one Spirit, in the common acceptation of numerical unity?

✓ For it was fitting and highly agreeable to reason, that what was the first and consequently the greatest commandment, scrupulous obedience to which was required by God even from the lowest of all the people, should be delivered in so plain a manner, that nothing ambiguous or obscure in its terms could lead his worshippers into error, or keep them in suspense or doubt. And thus the Israelites under the law and the prophets always understood it to mean, that God was numerically one God, that beside him there was none other, much less any equal. For those disputants of the schools had not yet appeared, who, depending on their own sagacity, or rather on arguments of a purely contradictory tendency, cast a doubt upon that very unity of God, which they pretended to assert. But as with regard to the omnipotence of the Deity, it is universally allowed, as has been stated before, that he can do nothing which involves a contradiction; so must it also be remembered in this place, that nothing can be said of the one God, which is inconsistent with his unity, and which implies at the same time the unity and plurality of the Godhead.

Proceeding to the evidence of the New Testament, we find it equally clear, in so far as it goes over the former ground, and in one respect even clearer, inasmuch as it testifies that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is that one God. *Mark* xii. 28, Christ having been asked, which was the first commandment of all, answers, v. 29. from *Deut.* vi. 4.—a passage quoted

before, and evidently understood by our Lord in the same sense which had always been applied to it—‘hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.’ To which answer the scribe assented, v. 32. ‘well, Master, thou hast said the truth; for there is one God, and there is none other but he.’ *John* xvii. 3. ‘this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God.’ *Rom.* iii. 30. ‘seeing it is one God.’ *1 Cor.* viii. 4. ‘we know....that there is none other God but one.’ v. 6. ‘to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things.’ *Gal.* iii. 20. ‘a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one.’ *Eph.* iv 6. ‘one God and father of all.’ *1 Tim.* ii. 5. ‘there is one God.’ So, too, though אֱלֹהִים be plural in the Hebrew, it is used notwithstanding for the one God, *Gen.* i. 1. אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא *Psal.* vii. 10. and lxxxvi. 10. אֱלֹהִים-בָּרִים; and elsewhere. But אֱלֹה is also used in the singular, *Psal.* xviii. 31. ‘who is God save Jehovah, or who is a rock save our God? which verse is sufficient to show that the singular and plural of this word both mean the same thing. More will be found on this subject in the fifth chapter.

Hitherto those attributes only have been mentioned which describe the nature of God, partly in an affirmative sense, partly negatively, as where they deny the existence of those imperfections in the Deity, which belong to created things,—as, for instance, when we speak of his immensity, his infinity, his incorruptibility. The succeeding attributes are such as show his divine power and excellence under the ideas of *vitality, intelligence and will.*

\* [ אֶתְּהָ אֱלֹהִים לְבָרָךְ, *Psalm* lxxxvi. 10. ]

I. *Vitality.* *Deut.* xxxii. 40. 'I live for ever,' whence he is called 'the living God.' *Psal.* xlii. 2. and in many other passages. *John* v. 26. 'the Father hath life in himself.'

II. The attribute of *omniscience* refers to the *intelligence* of God. *Gen.* vi. 5. 'God saw.....every imagination of the thoughts of his heart.' *Gen.* xviii. 14. 'is any thing too hard for Jehovah?' 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 9. 'Jehovah searcheth all hearts.' 2 *Chron.* vi. 30. 'thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men.' *Psal.* xxxiii. 15. 'he fashioneth their hearts alike; he considereth all their works.' cxxxix. 2. 'thou understandest my thought afar off.' v. 4. 'for there is not a word in my tongue, but lo, O Jehovah, thou knowest it altogether.' cxlvii. 5. 'his understanding is infinite.' *Job* xi. 7—9. 'canst thou by searching find out God?' &c. xxvi. 6. 'hell is naked before him.' *Prov.* xv. 11. 'hell and destruction are before Jehovah; how much more then the hearts of the children of men.' xvi. 2. 'Jehovah weigheth the spirits.' xvii. 3. 'Jehovah trieth the hearts.' *Isai.* xl. 28. 'there is no searching of his understanding.' *Jer.* xvii. 10. 'I Jehovah search the heart, I try the reins,' whence, *Acts* i. 24. he is called 'the Lord which knoweth the hearts of all men.' *Jer.* xxiii. 23, 24. 'am I a God at hand, saith Jehovah, and not a God afar off? can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him?' *Heb.* iv. 13. 'all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him,' whence he is called the 'only wise,' *Dan.* ii. 10. *Rom.* xvi. 27. 1 *Tim.* i. 17. So extensive is the prescience of God, that he knows beforehand the thoughts and actions of free agents as yet unborn, and many ages before those

thoughts or actions have their origin. *Deut.* xxxi. 16. 'behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and go a whoring after the gods of the strangers of the land,' &c. v. 20, 21. 'then will they turn unto other gods,' &c. 'for I know the imagination which they go about even now, before I have brought them into the land which I swear.' 2 *Kings* viii. 12. 'I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel.'

III. With reference to the *will*, God is, 1st. *infinitely pure and holy.* *Exod.* xv. 11. 'glorious in holiness.' *Josh.* xxiv. 19. 'he is an holy God.' 1 *Sam.* ii. 2. 'there is none holy as Jehovah.' vi. 20. 'before this holy God Jehovah.' *Job* xv. 15, 'the heavens are not clean in his sight.' *Isai.* vi. 2, 3. 'he covered his face.....and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts.' xl. 25. 'saith the Holy One.' xli. 20. 'the Holy One of Israel.' *Habak.* i. 13. 'thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil.'

2. He is *most gracious.* *Exod.* xxxiv. 6. 'merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth. See also *Psal.* lxxxvi. 15. and ciii. 8. v. 4. 'neither shall evil dwell with thee.' xxv. 6. 'thy lovingkindnesses.....have been ever of old.' ciii. 11. 'great is his mercy toward them that fear him.' v. 17. 'the mercy of Jehovah is from everlasting to everlasting.' cxix. 68. 'thou art good, and doest good.' *Lam.* iii. 22. 'it is of the mercies of Jehovah that we are not consumed.' *Matt.* xix. 17. 'there is none good but one, that is, God.' *Luke* vi. 36. 'be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful.' 2 *Cor.* i. 3. 'the Father of mercies.' *Eph.* ii. 4. 'rich in mercy.' 1 *John* iv. 8. 'God is love.' And

thus again God may be proved to be immutable, from the consideration of his infinite wisdom and goodness; since a being of infinite wisdom and goodness would neither wish to change an infinitely good state for another, nor would he be able to change it without contradicting his own attributes.

✓ 3. As God is true by nature, so is he also *true* and *faithful* in respect of his will. *Psal.* xix. 7. 'the testimony of Jehovah is sure.' *John* vii. 28. 'he that sent me is true.' *Rom.* iii. 4. 'let God be true, but every man a liar.' *2 Tim.* ii. 13. 'if we believe not, yet he abideth faithful.' *1 Cor.* i. 9. and x. 13. 'God is faithful.' *Rev.* vi. 10. 'O Lord, holy and true.'

✓ 4. He is also *just*. *Deut.* xxxii. 4. 'all his ways are judgement, a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he.' *Psal.* xxxvi. 6. 'thy righteousness is like the great mountains.' cxix. 137. 'righteous art thou, O Jehovah, and upright are thy judgements.' *Isai.* v. 16. 'God....shall be sanctified in righteousness. It is not requisite to discuss at large in this place what is consistent or inconsistent with the justice of God, since if it be necessary to say any thing on so clear a subject, occasions will arise for introducing such observations as may be required in other parts of this work. Severity also is attributed to God. *Rom.* xi. 22. 'on them which fell, severity.'

From all these attributes springs that infinite excellence of God which constitutes his true perfection, and causes him to abound in glory, and to be most deservedly and justly the supreme Lord of all things, according to the qualities so frequently ascribed to

him. *Psal.* xvi. 11. 'in thy presence is fulness of joy.' civ. 1. 'thou art clothed with honour and majesty.' *Dan.* vii. 10. 'thousand thousands ministered unto him.' *Matt.* v. 48. 'as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.' 1 *Tim.* i. 11. 'the blessed God.' vi. 15. 'who is the blessed . . . . potentate.'

Some description of this divine glory has been revealed, so far as it falls within the scope of human comprehension. *Exod.* xix. 18, &c. 'mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke—.' xxiv. 10, &c. 'they saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness.' xxxiii. 9, 10. 'the cloudy pillar descended, &c. &c.—' and v. 18, &c. 1 *Kings* xix. 11. 'behold, Jehovah passed by.' viii. 10, 11. 'the cloud filled the house of Jehovah.' xxii. 19. 'I saw Jehovah sitting on his throne.' *Psal.* xviii. 8, &c. and civ. *Micah* i. 3, &c. *Nahum* i. 3, &c. *Isai.* vi. *Ezek.* i. and viii. 1—3. and x. 1, &c. and xliii. 2, 3. *Habak.* iii. 3, &c. *Dan.* vii. 9. *Rev.* iv.

It follows, finally, that God must be styled by us *wonderful*, and *incomprehensible*. *Judges* xiii. 18. 'why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is secret?' *Psal.* cxlv. 3. 'his greatness is unsearchable.' *Isai.* xl. 28. 'there is no searching of his understanding.'



## CHAPTER III.

### OF THE DIVINE DECREES.

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**H**ITHERTO I have considered that knowledge of God which is to be obtained from his nature. That which is derived from his efficiency is the next subject of inquiry.

The *efficiency of God* is either *internal* or *external*.

The *internal efficiency* of God is that which is independent of all extraneous agency. Such are his decrees. *Eph. i. 9.* ‘which he hath purposed in himself.’

The *decrees of God* are *general* or *special*. God’s *general decree* is that *whereby he has decreed from all eternity of his own most free and wise and holy purpose, whatever he willed, or whatever he was himself about to do.*

*Whatever, &c. Eph. i. 11.* ‘who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will;’ which comprehends whatever he himself works or wills singly, not what is done by others, or by himself in co-operation with those to whom he has conceded the natural power of free agency. The creation of the world, and the removal of the curse from the ground, *Gen. viii. 21.* are among his sole decrees.

*From all eternity.* *Acts* xv. 18. 'known unto God are all his works, from the beginning of the world.' *1 Cor.* ii. 7. 'even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world.'

*Of his own most free—*; that is, without controul, impelled by no necessity, but according to his own will. *Eph.* i. 11. as before.

*Most wise—*; that is, according to his perfect foreknowledge of all things that were to be created. *Acts* ii. 23. 'by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God.' iv. 28. 'for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.' xv. 18. 'known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world.' *1 Cor.* ii. 7. 'the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world.' *Eph.* iii. 10, 11. 'the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed.'

There is an absurdity, therefore, in separating the decrees or will of the Deity from his eternal counsel and foreknowledge, or in giving them priority of order. For the foreknowledge, of God is nothing but the wisdom of God, under another name, or that idea of every thing, which he had in his mind, to use the language of men, before he decreed anything.

Thus it is to be understood that God decreed nothing absolutely, which he left in the power of free agents,—a doctrine which is shewn by the whole canon of the Scripture.\* *Gen.* xix. 17, 21. 'escape to

\* The following lines contain the sum of the doctrine laid down by Milton in this and the following chapter, and the coincidences of expression are not unfrequently as striking as the similarity of reasoning.

..... So will fall

He and his faithless progeny: Whose fault?

the mountain, lest thou be consumed . . . . . see, I have accepted thee concerning this thing also, that I will not overthrow this city for the which thou hast spoken.' *Exod.* iii. 8, 17. 'I am come down to deliver them . . . . and to bring them up unto a good land'—though these very individuals actually perished in the wilderness. God also had determined to deliver his people by the hand of Moses, yet he would have killed that same Moses, *Exod.* iv. 24. if he had not immediately circumcised his son. *1 Sam.* ii. 30. 'I said indeed . . . . but now Jehovah saith, Be it far from me ;'—and the reason for this change is added,—'for, them that honour me I will honour.' *xiii.* 13, 14. 'now would Jehovah have established

Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me  
 All he could have ; I made him just and right,  
 Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.  
 Such I created all the ethereal Powers  
 And Spirits, both them who stood, and them who fail'd ;  
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.  
 Not free, what proof could they have given sincere  
 Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love,  
 Where only what they needs must do appear'd,  
 Not what they would ? what praise could they receive,  
 What pleasure I, from such obedience paid,  
 When will and reason (reason also is choice)  
 Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,  
 Made passive both, had serv'd necessity,  
 Not me ? They therefore, as to right belong'd,  
 So were created, nor can justly accuse  
 Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,  
 As if predestination over-rul'd  
 Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree  
 Or high foreknowledge ; they themselves decreed  
 Their own revolt, not I ; if I foreknew,  
 Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,  
 Which had no less prov'd certain, unforeknown, &c. &c.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 95.

thy kingdom.....but now thy kingdom shall not continue.' Again, God had said, *2 Kings* xx. 1. that Hezekiah should die immediately, which however did not happen, and therefore could not have been decreed without reservation. The death of Josiah was not decreed peremptorily, but he would not hearken to the voice of Necho when he warned him according the word of the Lord, not to come out against him; *2 Chron.* xxxv. 22. Again, *Jer.* xviii. 9, 10. 'at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them,'—that is, I will rescind the decree, because that people hath not kept the condition on which the decree rested. Here then is a rule laid down by God himself, according to which he would always have his decrees understood,—namely, that regard should be paid to the conditionate terms attached to them. *Jer.* xxvi. 3. 'if so be they will hearken, and turn every man from his evil way, that I may repent me of the evil, which I purpose to do unto them because of the evil of their doings.' So also God had not even decreed absolutely the burning of Jerusalem. *Jer.* xxxviii. 17, &c. 'thus saith Jehovah.....if thou wilt assuredly go forth unto the king of Babylon's princes, then thy soul shall live, and this city shall not be burned with fire.' *Jonah* iii. 4. 'yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown'—but it appears from the tenth verse, that when God saw that they turned from their evil way, he repented of his purpose, though Jonah was angry and thought the change unworthy of God.

*Acts xxvii. 24, 31.* ‘God hath given thee all them that sail with thee’—and again—‘except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved,’ where Paul revokes the declaration he had previously made on the authority of God; or rather, God revokes the gift he had made to Paul except on condition that they should consult for their own safety by their own personal exertions.\*

It appears, therefore, from these passages of Scripture, and from many others which occur of the same kind, to the paramount authority of which we must bow, that the most high God has not decreed all things absolutely.

If, however, it be allowable to examine the divine decrees by the laws of human reason, since so many arguments have been maintained on this subject by controvertists on both sides with more of subtlety than of solid argument, this theory of contingent decrees may be defended even on the principles of men, as most wise, and in no respect unworthy of the Deity. For if those decrees of God, which have been referred to above, and such others of the same class as occur perpetually, were to be understood in an absolute sense, without any implied conditions, God would contradict himself, and appear inconsistent.

\* Ex his verbis (*nisi isti in navi manserint, &c.*) liquet apostolum, qui optime mentem divini promissi intelligebat, non credidisse Deum absolute velle salvare eos omnes qui in navi erant; sed tantum sub hac conditione, si nihil eorum omitterent quæ ad suam incolumitatem facere poterant. . . . Sed conditionem in promisso quod acceperat inclusam fuisse, non obscure liquet ex verbis quibus conceptum fuit, *Ecce Deus misit te cum omnes qui tecum navigant, id est, largitus est tibi hanc gratiam, ut eos omnes tuo consilio a morte liberes, si illi obtemperarint; alioqui de iis actum erit, et ipsi culpa sua peribunt.* Curcellæi *Institutio*, iii. 11. 4.

It is argued, however, that in such instances not only was the ultimate purpose predestinated, but even the means themselves were predestinated with a view to it. So indeed it is asserted, but Scripture nowhere confirms the rule, which alone would be a sufficient reason for rejecting it. But it is also attended by this additional inconvenience, that it would entirely take away from human affairs all liberty of action, all endeavour and desire to do right. For the course of argument would be of this kind—If God have at all events decreed my salvation, whatever I may do against it, I shall not perish. But God has also decreed as the means of salvation that you should do rightly. I cannot, therefore, but do rightly at some time or other, since God has decreed that also,—in the mean time I will act as I please; if I never do rightly, it will be seen that I was never predestinated to salvation, and that whatever good I might have done would have been to no purpose. See more on this subject in the following Chapter.

Nor is it sufficient to affirm in reply, that the kind of necessity intended is not compulsory, but a necessity arising from the immutability of God, whereby all things are decreed, or a necessity arising from his infallibility or prescience, whereby all things are foreknown. I shall satisfactorily dispose in another place of these two alleged species of necessity recognized by the schools:\* in the mean time no

\* 'But when I say that the divine decree or promise imprints a necessity upon things, it may to prevent misapprehension be needful to explain what kind of necessity this is, that so the liberty of second causes be not thereby wholly cashiered and taken away. For this therefore

other law of necessity can be admitted than what logic, or in other words, what sound reason teaches; that is to say, when the efficient either causes some determinate and uniform effect by its own inherent propensity, as for example, when fire burns, which kind is denominated physical necessity; or when the efficient is compelled by some extraneous force to operate the effect, which is called compulsory necessity, and in the latter case, whatever effect the efficient produces, it produces *per accidens*.\* Now any necessity arising from external causes influences the agent either determinately or compulsorily; and it is apparent that in either alternative his liberty

we are to observe that the schools distinguish of a twofold necessity, physical and logical, or causal and consequential; which terms are commonly thus explained; viz. that physical or causal necessity is when a thing by an efficient productive influence certainly and naturally produces such an effect,' &c. South's *Sermon on the Resurrection*, Vol. III. p. 398. 'Graviter itaque errare censendi sunt, qui duplicem necessitatem rebus tribuunt, ex providentia divini, unam *immutabilitatis*, quia cum Deus non mutet decretum, sicut dicitur Psal. xxxiii. 11. Mal. iii. 6. quicquid omnino decrevit, certissime evenit: alteram *infallibilitatis*, quia,' &c. Curcellæi *Institutio*, iii. 12. 16. See also lib. iv. 2. 5.

\* 'Tertio causa efficiens per se efficit, aut per accidens. Tertium hoc par modorum efficiendi est ab Aristotele etiam et veteribus notatum.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*. Prose Works, VI. 208. And again—'Quæ autem natura necessario, quæ consilio libere agunt; necessario agit quæ aliter agere non potest, sed ad unum quidpiam agendum determinatur, idque solum sua propensione agit, quæ necessitas naturæ dicitur . . . Libere agit efficiens non hoc duntaxat ut naturale agens, sed hoc vel illud pro arbitrio, idque absolute, vel ex hypothesi . . . Per accidens efficit causa quæ externa facultate efficit; id est, non sua; cum principium effecti est extra efficientem, externumque principium interno oppositum; sic nempe efficiens non efficit per se, sed per aliud . . . Coactione fit aliquid, cum efficiens vi cogitur ad effectum. Ut cum lapis sursum vel recta projicitur, qui suapte natura deorsum fertur. Hæc necessitas coactionis dicitur, et causis etiam liberis nonnunquam accidere potest.' *ibid.* 209.

would be wholly annihilated. But though a certain immutable and internal necessity of acting right, independent of all extraneous influence whatever, may exist in God conjointly with the most perfect liberty, both which principles in the same divine nature tend to the same point, it does not therefore follow that the same thing can be conceded with regard to two different natures, as the nature of God and the nature of man, in which case the external immutability of one party may be in opposition to the internal liberty of the other, and may prevent unity of will. Nor is it admitted that the actions of God are in themselves necessary, but only that he has a necessary existence ; for Scripture itself testifies that his decrees, and therefore his actions, of what kind soever they be, are perfectly free.

But it is objected that no constraint is put upon the liberty of free agents by divine necessity or first causes. I answer,—if it do not constrain, it either determines, or co-operates, or is wholly inefficient. If it determine or co-operate, it is either the sole or the joint and principal cause of all the actions, whether good or bad, of free agents.\* If it be wholly inefficient, it cannot be called a cause in any sense, much less can it be termed necessity.

\* The allusion appears to be to the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas and the Dominicans, who held that God predetermined the will by a physical influence, so that the Deity was the first cause of the action, and the creature the second cause, all the guilt of the sin being attributed to the latter party. With regard to the logical distinction, nearly the very words of the original occur elsewhere. ‘Secundo, causa efficiens sola efficit, aut cum aliis. Earumque omnium sæpe alia principalis, alia minus principalis, sive adjuvans et ministra.’ *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*. Prose Works, VI. 206.



Nor do we imagine anything unworthy of God, when we assert that those conditional events depend on the human will, which God himself has chosen to place at the free disposal of man ; since the Deity purposely framed his own decrees with reference to particular circumstances, in order that he might permit free causes to act conformably to that liberty with which he had endued them. On the contrary, it would be much more unworthy of God, that man should nominally enjoy a liberty of which he was virtually deprived, which would be the case were that liberty to be oppressed or even obscured under the pretext of some sophistical necessity of immutability or infallibility, though not of compulsion,—a notion which has led, and still continues to lead many individuals into error.

However, properly speaking, the divine counsels can be said to depend on nothing, but on the wisdom of God himself, whereby he perfectly foreknew in his own mind from the beginning what would be the nature and event of every future occurrence when its appointed season should arrive.

But it is asked how events which are uncertain, inasmuch as they depend on the human will, can harmonize with the decrees of God, which are immutably fixed?\* for it is written, *Psal.* xxxiii. 11. ‘the counsel of Jehovah standeth forever.’ See also *Prov.* xix. 21. and *Isai.* xlvi. 10. *Heb.* vi. 17. ‘the immutability of his counsel.’ To this objection it may be answered, first, that to God the issue of events is not

\* Yet more there be who doubt his ways not just,

As to his own edicts found contradicting.—

*Samson Agonistes*, 300.

uncertain, but foreknown with the utmost certainty, though they be not decreed necessarily, as will appear afterwards.—Secondly, in all the passages referred to, the divine counsel is said to stand against all human power and counsel, but not against the liberty of will with regard to such things as God himself had placed at man's disposal, and had determined so to place from all eternity. For otherwise, one of God's decrees would be in direct opposition to another, and that very consequence would ensue which the objector imputes to the doctrine of his opponents, namely, that by considering those things as necessary, which the Deity had left to the uncontrouled decision of man, God would be rendered mutable. But God is not mutable, so long as he decrees nothing absolutely which could happen otherwise through the liberty assigned to man ; whereas he would then be mutable, then his counsel would not stand, if he were to obstruct by another decree that liberty which he had already decreed, or were to darken it with the least shadow of necessity.\*

It follows, therefore, that the liberty of man must be considered entirely independent of necessity,† and

\*So without least impulse or shadow of fate,  
Or aught by me immutably foreseen,  
They trespass, authors to themselves in all  
Both what they judge, and what they choose ; for so  
I form'd them free ; and free they must remain,  
Till they enthrall themselves ; I else must change  
Their nature, and revoke the high decree  
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd  
Their freedom ; they themselves ordain'd their fall.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 120.

†..... Beyond this had been force,  
And force upon free will hath here no place.

*Paradise Lost*, IX. 1174.

no admission can be made in favour of that modification of the principle which is founded on the doctrine of God's immutability and prescience. If there be any necessity at all, as has been stated before, it either determines free agents to a particular line of conduct, or it constrains them against their will, or it co-operates with them in conjunction with their will, or it is altogether inoperative. If it determine free agents to a particular line of conduct, man will be rendered the natural cause of all his actions, and consequently of his sins, and formed as it were with an inclination for sinning. If it constrain them against their will, man who is subject to this compulsory decree will be rendered the cause of sins only *per accidens*, God being the cause of sins *per se*. If it co-operate with them in conjunction with their will, then God becomes either the principal or the joint cause of sins with man. If, finally, it be altogether inoperative, there is no such thing as necessity, it virtually destroys itself by being without operation. For it is wholly impossible, that God should have decreed necessarily what we know at the same time to be in the power of man; or that that should be immutable which it remains for subsequent contingent circumstances either to fulfil or frustrate.

Whatever, therefore, was left to the free will of our first parents, could not have been decreed immutably or absolutely from all eternity; and questionless, either nothing was ever placed in man's power, or if it were, God cannot be said to have determined finally respecting it without reference to possible contingencies.

If it be objected, that this doctrine leads to absurd consequences, we reply, either the consequences are not absurd, or they are not the consequences of the doctrine. For it is neither impious nor absurd to say, that the idea of certain things or events might be suggested to God from some extraneous source ; for since God had determined from all eternity, that man should so far be a free agent, that it remained with himself to decide whether he would stand or fall,\* the idea of that evil event, or of the fall of man, was suggested to God from an extraneous source,—a truth which all confess.

Nor does it follow from hence, that what is merely temporal becomes the cause of, or a restriction upon what is eternal, for it was not any thing temporal, but the wisdom of the eternal mind that gave occasion for framing the divine counsel.

Whatever therefore was the subject of the divine counsel, whether man or angel† who was to be gifted

\* . . . . . such discourse bring on  
As may advise him of his happy state,  
Happiness in his power left free to will,  
Left to his own free will, his will though free,  
Yet mutable ; whence warn him to beware  
He swerve not, too secure.     *Paradise Lost*, V. 233.

† So Satan, speaking of himself:  
Hadst thou the same free will and power to stand ?  
Thou hadst ; whom hast thou then or what to accuse,  
But Heaven's free love dealt equally to all ?     IV. 66.

And Raphael :  
Myself, and all the angelick host, that stand  
In sight of God enthron'd, our happy state  
Hold, as you your's, while our obedience holds ;  
On other surety none ; freely we serve  
Because we freely love, as in our will  
To love or not ; in this we stand or fall :  
And some are fallen ———.     V. 535.

with free will, so that his fall might depend upon his own volition, such without doubt was the nature of the decree itself, so that all the evil consequences which ensued were contingent upon man's will; wherefore the covenant stood thus—if thou remain faithful, thou shalt abide in Paradise; if thou fall, thou shalt be cast out: if thou dost not eat the forbidden fruit, thou shalt live; if thou eat, thou shalt die.\*

Hence, those who contend that the liberty of actions is subject to an absolute decree, erroneously conclude that the decree of God is the cause of his foreknowledge, and antecedent in order of time.† If we must apply to God a phraseology borrowed from our own habits and understanding, that his decrees should have been the consequence of his foreknowledge seems more agreeable to reason, as well as to Scripture, and to the nature of God himself, who, as has just been proved, decreed every thing according to his infinite wisdom by virtue of his foreknowledge.

It is not intended to deny that the will of God is the first cause of all things, but we do not separate his prescience and wisdom from his will, much less do we think them subsequent to the latter in point of time. Finally, the will of God is not less the universal first cause, because he has himself decreed that

\* . . . . . thine and of all thy sons  
The weal or woe in thee is plac'd; beware.  
I in thy persevering shall rejoice,  
And all the blest; stand fast, to stand or fall  
Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.

*Paradise Lost, VIII. 837.*

† According to the Supralapsarian doctrine, that a prescience of future contingents, antecedent to the divine decree, is an absurdity and impossibility.

some things should be left to our own free will, than if each particular event had been decreed necessarily.

To comprehend the whole matter in a few words, the sum of the argument may be thus stated in strict conformity with reason. God of his wisdom determined to create men and angels reasonable beings,\* and therefore free agents; at the same time he foresaw which way the bias of their will, would incline, in the exercise of their own uncontroled liberty.† What then? shall we say that this foresight or foreknowledge on the part of God imposed on them the necessity of acting in any definite way? No more than if the future event had been foreseen by any human being. For what any human being has foreseen as certain to happen, will not less certainly happen than what God himself has predicted. Thus Elisha foresaw how much evil Hazael would bring upon the children of Israel in the course of a few years, *2 Kings* viii. 12. Yet no one would affirm that the evil took place necessarily on account of the foreknowledge of Elisha; for had he never foreknown it, the event would have occurred with equal certainty, through the free will of the agent. So neither does any thing happen because God has fore-

\* . . . God left free the will, for what obeys  
Reason, is free; and reason he made right;  
But bid her well be ware, and still erect. IX. 351.

† . . . . . What can 'scape the eye  
Of God all-seeing, or deceive his heart  
Omniscient? who in all things wise and just  
Hindered not Satan to attempt the mind  
Of Man, with strength entire and free will arm'd  
Complete to have discover'd and repuls'd  
Whatever wiles of foe or seeming friend.

*Paradise Lost, X. 5.*

seen it ; but he foresees the event of every action, because he is acquainted with their natural causes, which, in pursuance of his own decree, are left at liberty to exert their legitimate influence. Consequently the issue does not depend on God who foresees it, but on him alone who is the object of his foresight. Since therefore, as has before been shown, there can be no absolute decree of God regarding free agents, undoubtedly the prescience of the Deity, (which can no more bias free agents than the prescience of man, that is, not at all, since the action in both cases is intransitive, and has no external influence,) can neither impose any necessity of itself, nor can it be considered at all the cause of free actions. If it be so considered, the very name of liberty must be altogether abolished as an unmeaning sound ; and that not only in matters of religion, but even in questions of morality and indifferent things. There can be nothing but what will happen necessarily, since there is nothing but what is foreknown by God.

That this long discussion may be at length concluded by a brief summary of the whole matter, we must hold that God foreknows all future events, but that he has not decreed them all absolutely : lest all sin should be imputed to the Deity, and evil spirits and wicked men should be exempted from blame.\* Does my opponent avail himself of this, and think the concession enough to prove either that God does not foreknow every thing, or that all future events must

\* ‘Hoc tantum obiter; fatum sive decretum Dei cogere neminem male facere; et ex hypothesi divinæ præscientiæ certa quidem esse omnia, non necessaria.’ *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*. Prose Works, VI. 210.

therefore happen necessarily, because God has foreknown them? I allow that future events which God has foreseen, will happen certainly, but not of necessity. They will happen certainly, because the divine prescience cannot be deceived, but they will not happen necessarily, because prescience can have no influence on the object foreknown, inasmuch as it is only an intransitive action. What therefore is to happen according to contingency and the free will of man, is not the effect of God's prescience, but is produced by the free agency of its own natural causes, the future spontaneous inclination of which is perfectly known to God. Thus God foreknew that Adam would fall of his own free will; his fall therefore was certain, but not necessary, since it proceeded from his own free will, which is incompatible with necessity.\* Thus too God foreknew that the Israelites would revolt from the true worship to strange gods, *Deut. xxxi. 16*. If they were to be led to revolt necessarily on account of this prescience on the part of God, it was unjust to threaten them with the many evils which he was about to send upon them, *ver. 17*. it would have been to no purpose that a song was ordered to be written, which should be a witness for him against the children of Israel, because their sin would have been of necessity. But the prescience of God, like that of Moses, *v. 27*. had no extraneous influence, and God testifies, *v. 16*. that he foreknew they would sin from their own voluntary

\* . . . . . no decree of mine

Concurring to necessitate his fall,

Or touch with lightest moment of impulse

His free will, to her own inclining left

In even scale.

*Paradise Lost, X. 42.*



impulse, and of their own accord,—‘this people will rise up,’ &c. and v. 18. ‘I will surely hide my face in that day....in that they are turned unto other gods.’ Now the revolt of the Israelites which subsequently took place, was not the consequence of God’s foreknowledge of that event, but God foreknew that, although they were free agents, they would certainly revolt, owing to causes with which he was well acquainted. v. 20, 21. ‘when they shall have eaten and filled themselves, and waxen fat, then will they turn unto other gods.....I know their imagination which they go about, even now before I have brought them into the land which I swear.’

From what has been said it is sufficiently evident, that free causes are not impeded by any law of necessity arising from the decrees or prescience of God. There are some who in their zeal to oppose this doctrine, do not hesitate even to assert that God is himself the cause and origin of sin. Such men, if they are not to be looked upon as misguided rather than mischievous, should be ranked among the most abandoned of all blasphemers. An attempt to refute them, would be nothing more than an argument to prove that God was not the evil spirit.

Thus far of the *general decree* of God. Of his *special decrees* the first and most important is that which regards his *Son*, and from which he primarily derives his name of *Father*. *Psal.* ii. 7. ‘I will declare the decree: Jehovah hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.’ *Heb.* i. 5. ‘unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee?’ And again, ‘I will be to him a Father, and he shall

be to me a Son.' 1 *Pet.* i. 19, 20. 'Christ....who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world.' *Isai.* xlii. 1. 'mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth.' 1 *Pet.* ii. 4. 'chosen of God, and precious.' From all these passages it appears that the Son of God was begotten by the decree of the Father.

There is no express mention made of any *special decree* respecting *the angels*, but its existence seems to be implied, 1 *Tim.* v. 21. 'the elect angels.' *Eph.* i. 9, 10. 'the mystery of his will....that he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth.'

## CHAPTER IV.

### OF PREDESTINATION.

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**T**HE principal *special decree* of God relating to man is termed *Predestination*, whereby God in pity to mankind, though foreseeing that they would fall of their own accord, predestinated to eternal salvation before the foundation of the world those who should believe and continue in the faith ; for a manifestation of the glory of his mercy, grace, and wisdom, according to his purpose in Christ.

It has been the practice of the schools to use the word predestination, not only in the sense of election, but also of reprobation. This is not consistent with the caution necessary on so momentous a subject, since wherever it is mentioned in Scripture, election alone is uniformly intended. *Rom.* viii. 29, 30. 'whom he did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son.....moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called : and whom he called, them he also justified : and whom he justified, them he also glorified.' *1 Cor.* ii. 7. 'the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory.' *Eph.* i. 5. 'having predestinated us unto the adoption.' v. 11. 'in whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to his pur-

pose.' *Acts* ii. 23. compared with iv. 28. 'him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God they have taken.....for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done,' namely, as a means of procuring the salvation of man.

In other modes of expression, where predestination is alluded to, it is always in the same sense of election alone. *Rom.* viii. 28. 'to them who are the called according to his purpose.' ix. 23, 24. 'the vessels of mercy which he had afore prepared unto glory, even us, whom he hath called.' *Eph.* iii. 11. 'according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus.' *2 Tim.* i. 9. 'according to his own purpose and grace.' For when it is said negatively, *1 Thess.* v. 9. 'God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ,' it does not follow by implication that there are others who are appointed to wrath. Nor does the expression in *1 Pet.* ii. 8. 'whereunto also they were appointed,' signify that they were appointed from all eternity, but from some time subsequent to their defection, as the Apostles are said to be 'chosen' in time, 'and ordained' by Christ to their office, *John* xv. 16.

Again, if an argument of any weight in the discussion of so controverted a subject can be derived from allegory and metaphorical expressions, mention is frequently made of those who are written among the living, and of the book of life, but never of the book of death.\* *Isai.* iv. 3. 'written among the living.'

\* . . . . . blotted out and ras'd

By their rebellion from the book of life. *Paradise Lost*, I. 362.

*Dan.* xii. 1. 'at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.' *Luke* x. 20. 'rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.' *Philipp.* iv. 3. 'whose names are in the book of life.' At the same time this figure of enrolment in the book of life does not appear to signify eternal predestination, which is general, but some temporary and particular decision of God applied to certain men, on account of their works. *Psal.* lxix. 28. 'let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous;' whence it appears that they had not been written from everlasting. *Isai.* lxv. 6. 'behold it is written before me; I will not keep silence, but will recompense.' *Rev.* xx. 12. 'the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.' It is clear, therefore, that it was not the book of eternal predestination, but of their works. In the same way neither were those ordained from everlasting who are said, *Jude* 4. to have been 'before of old ordained to this condemnation.' For why should we give so extensive a signification to the term 'of old,' instead of defining it to mean, from the time when they had become inveterate and hardened sinners? Why must we understand it to imply so remote a period, either in this text, or in the passage whence it seems to be taken? *2 Pet.* ii. 3. 'whose judgement now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not,'—that is, from the time of their apostacy, however long they had dissembled it.

The text, *Prov.* xvi. 4. is also objected,—'Jehovah hath made all things for himself; yea, even the

wicked for the day of evil.' But God did not make him wicked, much less did he make him so 'for himself.' All that he did was to sentence the wicked to deserved punishment, as was most fitting, but he did not predestinate him, if innocent, to the same fate. It is more clearly expressed, *Eccles. vii. 29.* 'God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions,' whence the day of evil ensues as certainly, as if the wicked had been made for it.

*Predestination*, therefore, must always be referred to election, and seems often to be put for it. What St. Paul says, *Rom. viii. 29.* 'whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate,' is thus expressed, *1 Pet. i. 2.* 'elect according to the foreknowledge.' *Rom. ix. 11.* 'the purpose of God according to election.' *xi. 5.* 'according to the election of grace.' *Eph. i. 4.* 'he hath chosen us in him.' *Col. iii. 12.* 'as the elect of God, holy and beloved.' *2 Thess. ii. 13.* 'because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation.' *Reprobation*, therefore, could not be included under the title of predestination. *1 Tim. ii. 4.* 'who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.' *2 Pet. iii. 9.* 'the Lord....is long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance,'—to us-ward, that is, towards all men, not towards the elect only, as some interpret it, but particularly towards the wicked, as it is said, *Rom. ix. 22.* 'God endured....the vessels of wrath.' For if, as some object, Peter would scarcely have included himself among the unbelievers, much less would he have numbered himself among such of the elect as had not yet come to repentance. Nor does

God delay on account of the elect, but rather hastens the time.' *Matt.* xxiv. 22. 'for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.'

I understand by the term election, not that general or national election, by which God chose the whole nation of Israel for his own people,\* *Deut.* iv. 37. 'because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed after them,' and vii. 6—8. 'Jehovah thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself,' *Isai.* xlv. 4. 'for Israel mine elect.' Nor do I mean that election by which God, after rejecting the Jews, chose the Gentiles as those to whom the Gospel should be announced in preference, of which the apostle speaks particularly *Rom.* ix. and xi. Nor am I referring to that election by which an individual is selected for the performance of some office,† as *1 Sam.* x. 24. 'see ye him whom the Lord hath chosen?' *John* vi. 70. 'have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?' whence those are sometimes called elect who are eminent for any particular excellence, as *2 John* 1. 'the elect lady,' that is, most precious, and v. 13. 'thy elect sister.' *1 Pet.* ii. 6. 'a chief corner stone, elect and precious.' *1 Tim.* v. 21. 'the elect angels.' But that special election is here intended, which is nearly synonymous with eternal predestination. Election, therefore, is not a part of predestination; much less then is reprobation. For, speaking accurately, the ultimate pur-

\* . . . . . Resolving from thenceforth  
To leave them to their own polluted ways;  
And one peculiar nation to select  
From all the rest. *Paradise Lost*, XII, 109.

† . . . . . such as thou hast solemnly elected  
With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd  
To some great work, thy glory—. *Samson Agonistes*, 679.

pose of predestination is the salvation of believers,—a thing in itself desirable,—but on the contrary the object which reprobation has in view is the destruction of unbelievers, a thing in itself ungrateful and odious ; whence it is clear that God could never have predestinated reprobation, or proposed it to himself as an end. *Ezek.* xviii. 32. ‘I have no pleasure in him that dieth.’ xxxiii. 11. ‘as I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked should turn from his way and live.’ If therefore the Deity have no pleasure either in sin, or in the death of the sinner, that is, either in the cause or the effect of reprobation, certainly he cannot delight in reprobation itself. It follows, that reprobation forms no part of what is meant by God’s predestination.

*Whereby God, &c.* that is, God the Father. *Luke* xii. 32. ‘it is your Father’s good pleasure.’ So it is stated wherever mention is made of the divine decrees or counsel : *John* xvii. 2. ‘as many as thou hast given him.’ v. 6, 11, 24. ‘the men which thou gavest me out of the world.’ *Eph.* i. 4. ‘he hath chosen us in him.’ v. 5. ‘having predestinated us.’ v. 11. ‘being predestinated according to his purpose.’

*Before the foundation of the world, Eph.* i. 4. *2 Tim.* i. 9. ‘before the world began.’ See also *Tit.* i. 2.

*In pity to mankind, though foreseeing that they would fall of their own accord.* It was not simply man as a being who was to be created, but man as a being who was to fall of his own accord, that was the matter or object of predestination ;\* for that mani-

\* According to a part of the Sublapsarian scheme, taught by St. Augustine and maintained by the Synod of Dort.



festation of divine grace and mercy which God designed as the ultimate purpose of predestination, presupposes the existence of sin and misery in man, originating from himself alone. It is universally admitted that the fall of man was not necessary ; but if on the other hand the nature of the divine decree was such, that his fall became really inevitable,—which contradictory opinions are sometimes held in conjunction by the same persons,—then the restoration of man, who had fallen of necessity, became no longer a matter of grace, but of simple justice on the part of God. For if it be granted that he lapsed, though not against his own will, yet of necessity, it will be impossible not to think that the admitted necessity must have overruled or influenced his will by some secret force or guidance. But if God foresaw that man would fall of his own free will, there was no occasion for any decree relative to the fall itself, but only relative to the provision to be made for man, whose future fall was foreseen. Since then the apostacy of the first man was not decreed, but only foreknown by the infinite wisdom of God, it follows that predestination was not an absolute decree before the fall of man ; and even after his fall, it ought always to be considered and defined as arising, not so much from a decree itself, as from the immutable conditions of a decree.

*Predestinated* ; that is, designated, elected ; proposed to himself the salvation of man as the scope and end of his counsel. Hence may be refuted the notion of an abandonment and desertion from all eternity, in direct opposition to which God explicitly and frequently declares, as has been quoted above, that he

desires not the death of any one, but the salvation of all ; that he hates nothing that he has made ; and that he has omitted nothing which might suffice for universal salvation.

*For a manifestation of the glory of his mercy, grace, and wisdom.* This is the chief end of predestination. *Rom.* ix. 23. ' that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy.' *1 Cor.* ii. 7. ' we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world unto our glory.' *Eph.* i. 6. ' to the praise of the glory of his grace.

*According to his purpose in Christ.* *Eph.* iii. 10, 11. ' the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.' i. 4, 5, ' he hath chosen us in him ; having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ.' v. 11. ' in him, in whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to his purpose.' This is the source of that love of God, declared to us in Christ. *John* iii. 16. ' God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son.' *Eph.* ii. 4, 5. ' for his great love wherewith he loved us...by grace ye are saved.' *1 John* iv. 9, 10. ' in this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world,' &c. Wherefore there was no grace decreed for man who was to fall, no mode of reconciliation with God, independently of the foreknown sacrifice of Christ ;\* and since God

\*..... in thee

As from a second root shall be restor'd

As many as are restor'd, without thee none.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 287.

has so plainly declared that predestination is the effect of his mercy, and love, and grace, and wisdom in Christ, it is to these qualities that we ought to attribute it, and not, as is generally done, to his absolute and secret will, even in those passages where mention is made of his will only. *Exod.* xxxiii. 19. 'I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious,' that is, not to enter more largely into the causes of this graciousness at present, *Rom.* ix. 18. 'he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy,' by that method, namely, which he had appointed in Christ. Or it will appear on an examination of the particular texts, that in passages of this kind God is generally speaking of some extraordinary manifestation of his grace and mercy. Thus *Luke* xii. 32. 'it is your Father's good pleasure.' *Eph.* i. 5, 11. 'by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will; in whom also we have obtained an inheritance..... after the counsel of his own will.' *James* i. 18. 'of his own will,'—that is, in Christ, who is the word and truth of God,—'begat he us with the word of truth.'

✓ *Those who should believe, and continue in the faith.* This condition is immutably attached to the decree; it attributes no mutability, either to God or to his decrees; *2 Tim.* ii. 19. 'the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his:' or according to the explanation in the same verse, all who 'name the name of Christ, and depart from iniquity;' that is, whoever believes: the mutability is entirely on the side of them who renounce their faith, as it is said, *2 Tim.* ii. 13. 'if we believe not, yet he abideth

faithful; he cannot deny himself.' It seems then that there is no particular predestination or election, but only general,—or in other words, that the privilege belongs to all who heartily believe and continue in their belief,—that none are predestinated or elected irrespectively, e. g. that Peter is not elected as Peter, or John as John, but inasmuch as they are believers, and continue in their belief,—and that thus the general decree of election becomes personally applicable to each particular believer, and is ratified to all who remain steadfast in the faith. }

This is most explicitly declared by the whole of Scripture, which offers salvation and eternal life equally to all, under the condition of obedience in the Old Testament, and of faith in the New. There can be no doubt that the tenor of the decree in its promulgation was in conformity with the decree itself,—otherwise the integrity of God would be impugned, as expressing one intention, and concealing another within his breast. Such a charge is in effect made by the scholastic distinction which ascribes a two-fold will to God; his revealed will, whereby he prescribes the way in which he desires us to act, and his hidden will, whereby he decrees that we shall never so act: \* which is much the same as to attribute

\* 'Voluntas Dei in varias species distingui solet, ut absolutam et conditionatam; antecedentem et consequentem; signi et beneplaciti, &c. ....Voluntas signi dicitur cum Deus verbo suo significat quid velit aut nolit ab hominibus fieri, et mandatis ejus continetur; beneplaciti vero, qua Deus apud se premit et occultat id quod vult facere.' Curcellæi *Institutio*, ii. 9. 6, 7. 'Thomas Aquinas and his disciples frame another distinction to elude the text in *Timothy* (1 *Tim.* ii. 4.) and tell us of a will *revealed*, and of another *hidden*, which is, many times at least, contrary to that revealed.....a distinction rejected by our 17th Article,

to the Deity two distinct wills, whereof one is in direct contradiction to the other. It is, however, asserted that the Scriptures contain two opposite statements respecting the same thing ; it was the will of God that Pharaoh should let the people go, for such was the divine command,—but it was also not his will, for he hardened Pharaoh's heart. The truth however is, that it was God alone who willed their departure, and Pharaoh alone who was unwilling ; and that he might be the more unwilling, God hardened his heart,\* and himself deferred the execution of his own pleasure, which was in opposition to that of Pharaoh, that he might afflict him with heavier punishment on account of the reluctance of his will. Neither in his mode of dealing with our common father Adam, nor with those whom he calls and invites to accept of grace, can God be charged with commanding righteousness, while he decrees our diso-

which directs us to follow, not this supposed hidden will of God, but that which is expressly declared in his word.' Gloucester Ridley's *Sixth Sermon on the Divinity and Operations of the Holy Ghost*.

\*This my long sufferance, and my day of grace  
They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste ;  
But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more,  
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall ;  
And none but such from mercy I exclude.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 198:

. . . . . the will  
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven  
Left him at large to his own dark designs,  
That with reiterated crimes he might  
Heap on himself damnation, while he sought  
Evil to others, and, enrag'd, might see  
How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth  
Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy, shewn  
On man, by him seduc'd ; but on himself  
Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance pour'd. I. 211.

bedience to the command. What can be imagined more absurd than a necessity which does not necessitate, and a will without volition?

The tenor of the decree in its promulgation (which was the other point to be proved) is uniformly conditional. *Gen.* ii. 17. 'thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,'—which is the same as if God had said, I will that thou shalt not eat of it; I have not therefore decreed that thou shalt eat of it; for if thou eat, thou shalt die; if thou eat not, thou shalt live. Thus the decree itself was conditional before the fall; which from numberless other passages appears to have been also the case after the fall. *Gen.* iv. 7. 'if thou doest well, shalt thou not be excepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door,' or, 'the punishment of sin watcheth for thee.' *Exod.* xxxii. 32, 33. 'blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.....whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book.' Such was the love of Moses for his nation, that he either did not remember that believers, so long as they continued such, could not be blotted out, or the expression must be understood in a modified sense, as in *Rom.* ix. 1, &c. 'I could wish, if it were possible—:' but the answer of God, although metaphorical, explains with sufficient clearness that the principle of predestination is founded upon a condition,—'whosoever hath sinned, him will I blot out.' This is announced more fully in the enforcement of the legal covenant, *Deut.* vii. 6—8. where God particularly declares his choice and love of his people to have been gratuitous; and in v. 9. where he desires to be known as

‘a faithful God which keepeth his covenant and mercy,’ he yet adds as a condition, ‘with them that love him and keep his commandments.’ Again, it is said still more clearly, v. 12. ‘it shall come to pass, if ye hearken, to these judgements, and keep and do them, that Jehovah thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant and the mercy which he sware unto thy fathers.’ Though these and similar passages seem chiefly to refer either to the universal election of a nation to the service of God, or of a particular individual or family to some office (for in the Old Testament it is perhaps difficult to trace even a single expression which refers to election properly so called, that is, election to eternal life,) yet the principle of the divine decree is in all cases the same. Thus it is said of Solomon, as of another Christ, 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 6, 7, 9. ‘I have chosen him to be my son, and I will be his father.’ But what are the terms of the covenant ;—‘if he be constant to do my commandments and my judgements, as at this day .....if thou seek him, he will be found of thee ; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off forever.’ The election of his posterity also depended on the same stipulation. 2 *Chron.* vi. 16. ‘so that thy children take heed to their way, to walk in my law.’ See also xxxiii. 8. and xv. 2. ‘the Lord is with you, while ye be with him.....but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you ;’ whence Isaiah does not scruple to say, xiv. 1, ‘the Lord will yet choose Israel.’ See also *Zech.* i. 16. Isaiah also shows who are the elect ; lxxv. 9, 10. ‘mine elect shall inherit it.....and Sharon shall be.....for my people that have sought me.’ *Jer.* xxii. 24. ‘though Coniah

were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence.'

The same thing must be observed in the covenant of grace, wherever the condition is not added. This however seldom happens. *Mark* xvi. 16. 'he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be damned.' If we could conceive God originally predestinating mankind on such conditional terms as these, endless controversies might be decided by this single sentence, or by *John* iii. 16. 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' xv. 6. 'if a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch.' v. 10. 'if ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's commandment.' xvii. 20. 'neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word.' Such therefore were those who were predestinated by the Father. So also, *Luke* vii. 30. 'the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him;' whence it appears that even they might previously have been predestinated, if they would have believed. Who was more certainly chosen than Peter? and yet a condition is expressly interposed, *John* xiii. 8. 'if I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me.' What then ensued? Peter readily complied, and consequently had part with his Lord: had he not complied, he would have had no part with him. For though Judas is not only said to have been chosen, which may refer to his apostleship, but even to have been given to Christ by the Father, he



yet attained not salvation. *John* xvii. 12. 'those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition ; that the Scripture might be fulfilled. i. 11, 12. 'he came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power,' &c., that is, to those who believed in his name ; to whom he did not give power before they had received and believed in him, not even to those who were specially called his own. So St. Paul, *Eph.* i. 13. 'in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise.' Undoubtedly those whom in the beginning of his epistle he calls holy, who were not sealed till after that they had believed, were not individually predestinated before that period. *2 Cor.* vi. 1. 'we beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.' *Rev.* iii. 5. 'he that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life.' On the other hand it is said, *xxii.* 19. 'if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life.'

Again, if God have predestinated us 'in Christ,' as has been proved already, it certainly must be on the condition of faith in Christ. *2 Thess.* ii. 13. 'God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth.' Therefore it is only future 'believers' who are chosen. *Tit.* i. 1. 'according to the faith of God's elect, and the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness.' *Heb.* xi. 6. 'without faith it is impossible to please God,'—and thus become one of

the elect; whence I conclude that believers are the same as the elect, and that the terms are used indiscriminately. So *Matt. xx. 16.* ‘many be called, but few chosen,’ only signifies that they which believe are few. *Rom. viii. 33.* ‘who shall lay anything to the charge of God’s elect?’ that is, of believers: otherwise by separating election from faith, and therefore from Christ, we should be entangled in hard, not to say, detestable and absurd doctrines. So also, *Rom. xi. 7.* ‘the election have obtained it;’ that is, believers, as is clear from the twentieth verse, ‘thou,’ that is, thou that art elect, ‘standest by faith;’ and *v. 22.* ‘if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.’ Such is St. Paul’s interpretation of the doctrine in his own case; *1 Cor. ix. 27.* ‘lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.’ *Philip. iii. 12.* ‘not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus.’ *2 Tim. ii. 10, 12.* ‘I endure all things for the elect’s sake, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus,’ &c. yet it is said in the next verse, ‘if we believe not, yet he abideth,’ &c.

Two difficult texts remain to be explained from analogy by the aid of so many plainer passages; for what is obscure must be illustrated by what is clear, not what is clear by what is obscure. The first passage occurs *Acts xiii. 48.* the other *Rom. viii. 28—30.* which, as being in my judgement the least difficult of the two, I shall discuss first. The words are as follow: ‘we know that all things work together for

good, to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose: for whom he did foreknow he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son,' &c. 'moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.'

In the first place it must be remarked, that it appears from v. 28, that those 'who love God' are the same as those 'who are the called according to his purpose,' and consequently as those 'whom he did foreknow,' and 'whom he did predestinate,' for 'them he also called,' as is said in v. 30. Hence it is apparent that the apostle is here propounding the scheme and order of predestination in general, not of the predestination of certain individuals in preference to others. As if he had said, We know that all things work together for good to those who love God, that is, to those who believe, for those who love God believe in him. The order of this scheme is also explained. First, God foreknew those who should believe, that is, he decreed or announced it as his pleasure that it should be those alone who should find grace in his sight through Christ, that is, all men, if they would believe. These he predestinated to salvation, and to this end he, in various ways, called all mankind to believe, or in other words, to acknowledge God in truth; those who actually thus believed he justified; and those who continued in the faith unto the end he finally glorified. But that it may be more clear who those are whom God has foreknown, it must be observed that there are three ways in which any person or thing is said to be known to God.

First, by his universal knowledge, as *Acts* xv. 18. 'known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world.' Secondly, by his approving or gracious knowledge,\* which is an Hebraism, and therefore requires more explanation. *Exod.* xxxiii. 12. 'I know thee by name, and thou hast also found grace in my sight.' *Psal.* i. 6. 'Jehovah knoweth the way of the righteous.' *Matt.* vii. 23. 'I never knew you.' Thirdly, by a knowledge attended with displeasure. *Deut.* xxxi. 21. 'I know their imagination which they go about,' &c. *2 Kings* xix. 27. 'I know.....thy coming in, and thy rage against me.' *Rev.* iii. 1. 'I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.' In the passage under discussion it is evident that the approving knowledge of God can be alone intended; but he foreknew or approved no one, except in Christ, and no one in Christ except a believer. Those therefore who were about to love, that is, to believe in God, God foreknew or approved;†—or in general all men, if they should believe; those whom he thus foreknew, he predestinated, and called them that they might believe; those who believed, he justified. But if God justified believers, and believers only, inasmuch as it is faith

\* ..... when God  
Looking on the earth, with approbation marks  
The just man, and divulges him through heaven  
To all his angels.

*Paradise Regained*, III. 60.

† In the original it is—qui igitur dilecti dilecturi erant, id est, credituri, eos prænovit Deus, &c.—which scarcely seems to have any sense, unless some allusion be intended to *John* xvi. 27. 'the Father himself loveth you,' &c. It seems more probable that *dilecti* has been inserted by the carelessness of the transcriber.

alone that justifieth, he foreknew those only who would believe, for those whom he foreknew he justified ; those therefore whom he justified he also foreknew, namely, those alone who were about to believe. So *Rom. xi. 2.* ‘ God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew,’ that is, believers, as appears from *v. 20.* *2 Tim. ii. 19.* ‘ the Lord knoweth them that are his,’ that is, ‘ all who name the name of Christ, and depart from iniquity ;’ or in other words, all believers. *1 Pet. i. 2.* ‘ elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.’ This can be applicable to none but believers, whom the Father has chosen, according to his foreknowledge and approbation of them, through the sanctification of the Spirit and faith, without which the sprinkling of the blood of Christ would avail them nothing. Hence it seems that the generality of commentators are wrong in interpreting the foreknowledge of God in these passages in the sense of prescience ; since the prescience of God seems to have no connection with the principle or essence of predestination ; for God has predestinated and elected whoever believes and continues in the faith. Of what consequence is it to us to know whether the prescience of God foresees who will, or will not, subsequently believe ? for no one believes because God has foreseen his belief, but God foresees his belief because he was about to believe. Nor is it easy to understand how the prescience or foreknowledge of God with regard to particular persons can be brought to bear at all upon the doctrine of predestination, except for the purpose of raising a

number of useless and utterly inapplicable questions. For why should God foreknow particular individuals, or what could he foreknow in them which should induce him to predestinate them in particular, rather than all in general, seeing that the common condition of faith had been established? Without searching deeper into this subject, let us be contented with only knowing, that God, out of his infinite mercy and grace in Christ, has predestinated to salvation all who should believe.\*

The other passage is *Acts* xiii. 48. 'when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord; and as many as were ordained to eternal life, believed.' The difficulty is caused by the abrupt introduction of an opinion of the historian, in which he at first sight appears to contradict himself as well as the rest of Scripture, for he had before attributed to Peter this saying, chap. x. 34, 35. 'of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.' 'Accepted' certainly means chosen; and lest it should be urged that Cornelius had already been a proselyte before, St. Paul says the same thing even of those who had never known the law, *Rom.* ii. 10, 14. 'there is no respect of persons with God,' &c. 'when the Gentiles which have not the law,' &c. 1 *Pet.* i. 17. 'the Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work.' Now those who hold

\*Thy ransom paid, which man from death redeems,  
His death for man, as many as offer'd life  
Neglect not, and the benefit embrace  
By faith not void of works.

*Paradise Lost*, XII. 424.

the doctrine that a man believes because he is ordained to eternal life, not that he is ordained to eternal life because he will believe, cannot avoid attributing to God the character of a respecter of persons, which he so constantly disclaims. Besides, if the Gentiles believed because they were ordained to eternal life, the same must have been the primary cause of the unbelief of the Jews, v. 46. which will plead greatly in their excuse, since it would seem that eternal life had only been placed in their view, not offered to their acceptance. Nor would such a dispensation be calculated to encourage the other nations, who would immediately conclude from it that there was no occasion for any will or works of their own in order to obtain eternal life, but that the whole depended on some fatal ordinance; whereas on the contrary Scripture uniformly shows in the clearest manner, that as many as have been ordained to eternal life believe, not simply because they have been so ordained, but because they have been ordained on condition of believing.

For these reasons other interpreters of more sagacity,\* according to my judgement, have thought that there is some ambiguity in the Greek word *τεταγμένος*, which is translated ‘ordained,’ and that it has the same force as *εὖ ἤτοι μετρίως διατεθειμένοι*, ‘well or moderately disposed or affected,’ of a composed, attentive, upright, and not disorderly mind; of a different spirit from those Jews, as touching eternal life, who had ‘put from them the word of God,’ and had shown themselves ‘unworthy of everlasting life.’

\* This is the interpretation of Hammond and Whitby, and of Wolfius, *Cur. Philol.* in loc. See also the Commentators quoted in Mr. Horne’s note, *Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures*, Vol. II. p. 759.

The Greeks use the word in a similar sense, as in Plutarch,\* and 2 *Thess.* iii. 6, 11. 'there are some which walk disorderly,' certainly with reference to eternal life. This sense of the word, and even the particular application which is here intended, frequently occurs in Scripture in other terms. *Luke* ix. 92. εὖθετος, 'well disposed,' or 'fit for the kingdom of God.' *Mark* xii. 34. 'not far from the kingdom of God.' 2 *Tim.* ii. 21. 'a vessel....meet for the master's use, and prepared for every good work.'† For, as will be shown hereafter, there are some remnants of the divine image left in man,‡ the union of which in one individual renders him more fit and disposed for the kingdom of God than another. Since therefore we are not merely senseless stocks, some cause at least must be discovered in the nature of man himself, why divine grace is rejected by some and embraced by others. One thing appears certain, that though all men be dead in sin and children of wrath, yet some are worse than others; and this difference may not only be perceived daily in the nature, disposition, and habits of those who are most alienated

\* Φόρε γὰρ ἦν εὖθετος καὶ κατασκευαστὴς τοῖς ἐργοῖς. Plutarch, in *Pompeio*. Derivatives from this word are used with the same metaphorical signification. Ἰσὺς παραλαβὼν πολυμορφίας τὰς πόλεις, ἔθηκεν μὲν ὑπὸ πλῆθους καὶ μανίας βαρβαρικῆς, ἰδοὺ δὲ ὑπὸ στρατιωτικῆς ἀταξίας, καὶ τῆς τῶν ταῖμαρχῶν πλιονείας.—Synes. *Epist.* 62. νοθεύεται τοῖς ἀνάγκαις. 1 *Thess.* v. 14.

† Milton employs the word *fitted* in a similar sense in his *Hist. of Britain*, Book V. c. 1. 'But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, *fitted* by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it.'

‡ . . . . . Why should not man,  
Retaining still divine similitude  
In part, from such deformities be free,  
And for his Maker's image sake, exempt?

*Paradise Lost*, XI. 511.



from the grace of God, but may also be inferred from the expressions used in the parable, *Matt.* xiii. where the nature of the soil is variously described in three or four ways ; part as stony ground, part overrun with thorns, part good ground, at least in comparison of the others, before it had as yet received any seed. See also *Matt.* x. 11, &c. ‘inquire who in it is worthy,’ &c....‘and if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it.’ How could any one be worthy before the Gospel had been preached, unless on account of his being ‘ordained,’ that is, well inclined or disposed, to eternal life ? which Christ teaches that the rest will perceive in their own punishments after death. *Matt.* xi. 22. ‘it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgement, than for you.’ *Luke* xii. 47, 48. ‘that servant which knew his Lord’s will.....shall be beaten with many stripes : but he that knew not....shall be beaten with few stripes.’ And, lastly, the gift of reason has been implanted in all, by which they may of themselves resist bad desires, so that no one can complain of, or allege in excuse, the depravity of his own nature compared with that of others.

But, it is objected, God has no regard to the less depraved among the wicked in his choice, but often prefers the worse to the better. *Deut.* ix. 5. ‘not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land.’ *Luke* x. 13. ‘if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.’ I answer, that it cannot be determined from these passages, what God regards in those whom he choos-

es ; for in the first place, I have not argued that he has regarded righteousness even in the least degree.\* Secondly, in the former passage the question is not respecting election to life eternal, but concerning the gift of the land of Canaan to the Israelites, a gift assigned them for other reasons than those for which eternal life would have been given,—partly on account of the wickedness of the original inhabitants, and partly that the promise might be fulfilled which had been ratified by an oath to their forefathers ; wherein there is nothing that contradicts my doctrine. In the latter passage, it is not the elect who are compared with the reprobate, but the reprobate who are compared with each other, the Tyrians with the unbelieving Jews, neither of which nations had repented. Nor would the Tyrians ever have truly repented, even if these miracles had been wrought among them, for if God had foreseen that they would have repented, he would never have forsaken them ; but the expression is to be understood in the same sense as *Matt. xxi. 31.* ‘ the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you.’

Lastly, it will be objected, that ‘ it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy,’ *Rom. ix. 16.* I answer, that my argument does not presuppose one that willeth or that runneth, but one that is less reluctant, less backward, less resisting than another—that it is, neverthe-

\* . . . . . thou oft,  
Amidst their highth of noon,  
Changest thy countenance, and thy hand, with no regard  
Of highest favours past  
From thee on them, or them to thee of service.

*Samson Agonistes, 682.*

less, God who sheweth mercy, and who is at the same time infinitely wise and just. Meanwhile, when it is said that 'it is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth,' it is not denied that there is one who wills, and one who runs, only care is taken not to assign to him any portion of merit or praise. But when God determined to restore mankind, he also without doubt decreed that the liberty of will which had been lost should be at least partially regained by them, which was but reasonable. Whomsoever therefore in the exercise of that degree of freedom which their will had acquired either previously to their call, or by reason of the call itself, God had seen in any respect willing or running, (who it is probable are here meant by the ordained) to them he gave a greater power of willing and running, that is, of believing. Thus it is said, 1 *Sam.* xvi. 7. 'Jehovah looketh on the heart,' namely, on the disposition of men either as it is by nature, or after grace has been received from him that calleth them. To the same purport is that well known saying,—'to him that hath shall be given.' This may be illustrated by the example of the centurion, *Matt.* viii. 10. 'I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel,'—of the woman of Canaan, *Matt.* xv. 28. 'O woman, great is thy faith,'—of the father of the demoniac, *Mark* ix. 24. 'Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief,'—and of Zaccheus, *Luke* xix. 3. 'he sought to see Jesus who he was,' whence, v. 9. 'Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house.' Zaccheus therefore had not been ordained from all eternity, but from the time when he had shewn himself eagerly desirous of knowing Christ.

Nor is it less on this account 'of God that showeth mercy,' since the principal is often put for the sole cause without impropriety, not only in common discourse, but even in the language of logicians: and certainly unless God had first shown mercy, it would have been in the power of no one either to will or to run. *Philipp.* ii. 13. 'for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' *2 Cor.* iii. 5. 'not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God,' without whose mercy he that willeth or he that runneth would gain nothing.\*

I think therefore it must be sufficiently clear from the analogy of all the rest of Scripture, who those are that are said in the passage quoted from the Acts to have been ordained to eternal life. On a review of the whole, I should conjecture, that Luke had not intended to advance in so abrupt a manner any new doctrine, but simply to confirm by a fresh example the saying of Peter respecting Cornelius, *Acts* x. 34, 35. Cornelius and the Gentiles with him believed, as many at least as feared God and worked righteousness, for such were accepted of God in every

\* All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all  
 As my eternal purpose hath decreed;  
 Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will;  
 Yet not of will in him, but grace in me  
 Freely vouchsaf'd; . . . . .  
 . . . . . that he may know how frail  
 His fall'n condition is, and to me owe  
 All his deliverance, and to none but me.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 171.

See also Gloucester Ridley's *Sixth Sermon on the Holy Spirit*, where the line of argument pursued by Milton is beautifully and powerfully enforced.

nation. So in the other passage, those of the Gentiles whose thoughts were already devoted to serious subjects, worthy the attention of men, believed, and gave themselves up to instruction with docility and gladness of heart, glorifying the word of the Lord. Such Peter declared were accepted of God in every nation, and such Luke in conformity with Peter's opinion asserts to be ordained to, that is, qualified for eternal life, even though they were Gentiles.

But an objection of another kind may perhaps be made. If God be said to have predestinated men only on condition that they believe and continue in the faith, predestination will not be altogether of grace, but will depend on the will and belief of mankind; which will be derogatory to the exclusive efficacy of divine grace. But this is so far from being true, that the doctrine of grace is thus placed in a much clearer light than by the theory of those who make the objection. For the grace of God is acknowledged to be infinite, in the first place, inasmuch as he showed any pity at all for man, whose fall was to happen through his own fault. Secondly, because he 'so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son' for its salvation. Thirdly, because he has again granted us the power of volition, that is, of acting freely, in consequence of recovering the liberty of the will by the renewing of the Spirit. It was thus that he opened the heart of Lydia, *Acts* xvi. 14. But if the condition whereon the decree depends, that is to say, the will enfranchised by God himself, and faith which is required of mankind be left in the power of beings who are free agents, there is nothing in the doctrine either derogatory to grace, or incon-

sistent with justice ; since the power of willing and believing is either the gift of God,\* or, so far as it is inherent in man, partakes not of the nature of merit or of good works, but only of a natural faculty. Nor does this reasoning represent God as depending upon the human will, but as fulfilling his own pleasure, whereby he has chosen that man should always use his own will with a regard to the love and worship of the Deity, and consequently with a regard to his own salvation. If this use of the will be not admitted, whatever worship or love we render to God is entirely vain and of no value ; the acceptableness of duties done under a law of necessity is diminished, or rather is annihilated altogether, and freedom can no longer be attributed to that will over which some fixed decree is inevitably suspended.†

\* . . . . . Man shall find grace ;

Happy for man, so coming ; he her aid

Can never seek, once dead in sins, and lost.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 227.

† God made thee perfect, not immutable ;

And good he made thee, but to persevere

He left it in thy power ; ordain'd thy will

By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate

Inextricable, or strict necessity ;

Our voluntary service he requires,

Not our necessitated ; such with him

Finds no acceptance, nor can find ; for how

Can hearts not free, be tried whether they serve

Willing or no, who will but what they must

By destiny, and can no other choose ?

*Paradise Lost*, V. 524.

‘ Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues ! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing ; he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions

The objections, therefore, which are so vehemently urged by some against this doctrine, are of no force whatever;—namely, that on this theory, the repentance and faith of the predestinated having been foreseen, predestination becomes posterior in point of time to works,—that it is rendered dependent on the will of man,—that God is defrauded of part of the glory of our salvation,—that man is puffed up with pride,—that the foundations of all Christian consolation in life and in death are shaken,—that gratuitous justification is denied.’ On the contrary, the scheme, and consequently the glory, not only of the divine grace, but also of the divine wisdom and justice, is thus displayed in a clearer manner than on the opposite hypothesis; which was the principal end that God proposed to himself in predestination.

Since then it is so clear that God has predestinated from eternity all those who should believe and continue in the faith, it follows that there can be no reprobation, except of those who do not believe or continue in the faith, and even this rather as a consequence than a decree; there can therefore be no reprobation of individuals from all eternity. For God has predestinated to salvation, on the proviso of a general condition, all who enjoy freedom of will; while none are predestinated to destruction, except through their own fault, and as it were, *per accidens*, in the same manner as there are some to whom the Gospel itself is said to be a stumbling-block and a

We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force; God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence.’ *Speech for the Liberty of Uncensored Printing.* Prose Works, I. 305.

savour of death. Of this assertion proof shall be given from the testimony of Scripture no less explicit than of the doctrine asserted in the former part of the chapter. *Isai.* l. 1. 'where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away?.....behold for your iniquities have ye sold yourselves.' *Hos.* iv. 6. 'because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee.....seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children.' *Rev.* xiii. 8. 'all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.' And who are they but such as have not believed? whom God has therefore deserted\* because they 'wandered after the beast,' v. 3. Nor should I call the decree mentioned in *Zephaniah* ii. 1—3. a decree of eternal reprobation, but rather of temporal punishment, and at any rate not an absolute decree, as the passage itself is sufficient to show: 'gather yourselves together,' &c. 'before the decree bring forth'.....&c. &c. 'it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the anger of Jehovah.'

For if God had decreed any to absolute reprobation, which we do not read, he must, even according to their system who affirm that reprobation is an absolute decree, have likewise decreed the means without which his own decree could not be fulfilled. Now these means are neither more nor less than sin. Nor will the common subterfuge avail, namely, that God did not decree sin, but only its permission: this

\* Thence faintings, swoonings of despair,  
And sense of heaven's desertion.

*Samson Agonistes*, 631



is a contradiction in terms ; for at this rate he does more than simply permit it : he who permits a thing does not decree it, but leaves it free.

But even if there be any decree of reprobation, Scripture everywhere declares, that as election is established and confirmed by faith, so reprobation is rescinded by repentance.\* *Jer.* vi. 30. ‘reprobate silver shall men call them, because Jehovah hath rejected them ;’ and yet in the third verse of the following chapter God addresses himself to the same people—‘amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place.’ So too in chap. xviii. 6, &c. where God compares his own right with that of the potter, (whence St. Paul seems to have taken his metaphor, *Rom.* ix.) ‘if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.’ So too where God defends in the clearest manner the justice of his ways, *Ezek.* xviii. 25—27. ‘when the wicked man turneth away from the wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive.’ xxxiii. 14, 15. ‘when I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right,’ &c. &c. ‘he shall surely live, he shall not die.’ The same is inculcated in other parts of the chapters just quoted : xviii. 31, 32. ‘why will ye die, O house of Israel ? for I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith

\*To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,  
Though but endeavour’d with sincere intent,  
Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 191

the Lord Jehovah; wherefore turn yourselves and live ye.' xxxiii. 11. 'say unto them, As I live, saith the Lord Jehovah, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live; turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways, for why will ye die, O house of Israel?' *Luke* xiii. 5. 'except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish:' therefore, if ye repent, ye shall not perish. If then there be no repentance, of what advantage is election; or if there be repentance, of what injury is reprobation? Accordingly St. Paul, in speaking of those whom he describes as blinded, and whom he opposes to the elect, *Rom.* xi. 7. 'the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded,' subjoins immediately, v. 11. 'have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid;' and v. 29, &c. 'and they also, if they abide not in unbelief, shall be graffed in; for God is able to graff them in again,' &c. lastly, he adds, v. 32. 'God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all.'

If then God reject none but the disobedient and unbelieving, he undoubtedly gives grace to all, though not in equal measure,\* yet sufficient for attaining knowledge of the truth and final salvation;—I have said, not in equal measure, because not even to the reprobate, as they are called, has he imparted uni-

\* Some I have chosen of peculiar grace,  
Elect above the rest; so is my will:  
The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd  
Their sinful state, and to appease betimes  
The incens'd Deity, while offer'd grace  
Invites; for I will clear their senses dark  
What may suffice, and soften stony hearts  
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 183.

formly the same degree of grace. *Matt.* xi. 21, 23. 'woe unto thee, Chorazin,' &c. 'for if the mighty works which have been done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon,'—&c. See also *Luke* x. 13. For God, as any other proprietor might do with regard to his private possessions, claims to himself the right of determining concerning his own creatures according to his pleasure, nor can he be called to account for his decision, though, if he chose, he could give the best reasons for it. *Rom.* ix. 20, 21. 'nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? hath not the potter power over the clay?' It is owing, therefore, to his supreme will that God does not vouchsafe equal grace to all; but it is owing to his justice that there are none to whom he does not vouchsafe grace sufficient for their salvation. *Isai.* v. 4. 'what could have been done more in my vineyard, that I have not done in it?' which words are spoken of the whole nation of the Jews, not of the elect only. xxvi. 10. 'let favour be showed to the wicked, yet will he not learn righteousness.' *Ezek.* xii. 2. 'which have eyes to see, and see not, they have ears to hear, and hear not; for they are a rebellious house.' *2 Kings* xvii. 13. 'Jehovah testified against Israel, and against Judah, by all the prophets, and by all the seers, saying, Turn ye from your evil ways,' &c.....'notwithstanding they would not hear, but hardened their necks.' See also *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 15, 16. *John* i. 9. 'that was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' ix. 41. 'if ye were blind, ye should have no sin; but now ye say, We see, therefore your sin

remaineth,' namely, because your sin is the 'fruit of pride, not of ignorance. xv. 22. 'if I had not come and spokēn unto them, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak for their sin.' xii. 34—41. 'yet a little while is the light with you: walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you,' &c. 'while ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light.' *Acts* xiii. 46. 'it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you, but seeing you put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles.' xiv. 16, 17. 'who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways: nevertheless he left not himself without witness.' *Rom.* x. 20, 21. 'I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me: but to Israel he saith, All day long I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.' *2 Cor.* vi. 1, 2. 'behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.' *Heb.* iii. 7, 8. compared with *Psal.* xcv. 7, 9. 'to-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.' Undoubtedly if he desire that the wicked should turn from their way and live, *Ezek.* xxxiii. 11.—if he would have all men to be saved, *1 Tim.* ii. 4.—if he be unwilling that any should perish, *2 Pet.* iii. 9. he must also will that an adequate proportion of saving grace shall be withholden from no man; for if otherwise, it does not appear how his truth towards mankind can be justified. Nor is it enough that only so much grace shall be bestowed as will suffice to take away all excuse; for our condemnation would have been reasonable, even had no

✓ grace at all been bestowed.\* But the offer of grace having been once proclaimed, those who perish will always have some excuse, and will perish unjustly, unless it be evident that it is actually sufficient for salvation. So that what Moses said in his address to the Israelites, *Deut. xxix. 4.* 'Jehovah hath not given you an heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day,' must be understood as having been dictated by the kindness and tenderness of his feelings, lest he should have been accused of harshness and asperity towards so large an assembly of the people, who were then on the point of entering into covenant with God, if he had chosen that particular time for openly reproving the hardness of their hearts. When, therefore, there were two causes to which their impenitence was capable of being ascribed,—either, that a heart had not yet been given by God, who was at liberty to give it when he pleased, or, that they had not yielded obedience to God,—he made mention only of the freedom of God's will, and left their hardness of heart to be suggested silently by their own consciences; for no one could be at a loss to perceive, that if God to that day had not given them an understanding heart, their own stubbornness must have been the principal cause; or else that God, who had wrought so many miracles for their sakes, had abundantly given them a heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, but that they had refused to make use of these gifts.

\* God made thee of choice his own, and of his own  
To serve him; thy reward was of his grace;  
Thy punishment then justly is at his will.

*Paradise Lost, X. 766.*

Thus much, therefore, may be considered as certain and irrefragable truth—that God excludes no one from the pale of repentance and eternal salvation, till he has despised and rejected the propositions of sufficient grace, offered even to a late hour, for the sake of manifesting the glory of his long-suffering and justice. Nor has God anywhere declared in direct and precise terms that his will is the cause of reprobation, but the reasons which influence his will in the case at issue are frequently propounded,—namely, the grievous sins of the reprobate previously committed, or foreseen before actual commission,—want of repentance,—contempt of grace,—deafness to the repeated calls of God. For reprobation must not be attributed, like the election of grace, to the divine will alone. *Deut. ix. 5.* ‘not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess their land ; but for the wickedness of these nations Jehovah thy God doth drive them out before thee.’ For the exercise of mercy requires no vindication ; it is unnecessary to assign any cause for it, except God’s own merciful will ; but, that reprobation, the consequence of which is punishment, may be reconciled with justice, it must be owing to man’s sin alone, and not to the arbitrary will of God—to sin either committed or foreseen, after the constant rejection of grace, or after it has been sought at length too late, and only through fear of punishment, when the appointed day of grace is past. For God does not reprobate for one cause, and condemn or assign to death for another, according to the distinction commonly made ; but those whom he has condemned on account of sin, he has also reprobated on account of

sin, as in time, so from all eternity. And this reprobation lies not so much in the divine will, as in the obstinacy of their own minds ; it is not God who decrees it, but the reprobate themselves who determine on refusing to repent while it is in their power.

1. *Acts* xiii. 46. ‘ ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life.’ *Matt.* xxi. 43. ‘ the stone which the builders rejected,’ &c. ‘ therefore the kingdom of God shall be taken from you.’ See also 1 *Pet.* ii. 7, 8. *Matt.* xxiii. 37. ‘ how often would I have gathered thy children together,’ &c. ‘ and ye would not.’ Nor would it be less unjust to decree reprobation, than to condemn for any other cause than sin. As, therefore, there is no condemnation except on account of unbelief or of sin, (*John* iii. 18, 19. ‘ he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed,’ &c. ‘ this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light :’ xii. 48. ‘ he that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath

2. one that judgeth him ; the word that I have spoken,’ &c. 2 *Thess.* ii. 12. ‘ that they all might be damned who believed not the truth,’) so we will prove from all the passages that are alleged in confirmation of the decree of reprobation, that no one is excluded by any decree of God from the pale of repentance and eternal salvation, unless it be after the contempt and rejection of grace, and that at a very late hour. We may begin our proofs of this assertion from the instance of Jacob and Esau, *Rom.* ix. since in the opinion of many the question seems to turn on that case. It will be seen that the subject of discussion in this passage is not so much predestination, as the

unmerited calling of the Gentiles after the Jews had been deservedly rejected.

St. Paul shows in the sixth verse, that the word which God spake to Abraham, had not therefore taken none effect because all his posterity had not received Christ, and more had believed among the Gentiles than among the Jews ; inasmuch as the promise was not made in all the children of Abraham, but in Isaac, v. 7 ; that is to say, ' they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God, but the children of the promise are counted for the seed,' v. 8. The promise therefore was not made to the children of Abraham according to the flesh, but to the children of God, who are therefore called the children of the promise. But since Paul does not say in this passage who are the children of God, an explanation must be sought from *John* i. 11, 12. where this very promise is briefly referred to ; ' he came unto his own, and his own received him not : but as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name.' The promise therefore is not to the children of Abraham in the flesh, but to as many of the children of his faith as received Christ, namely, to the children of God and of the promise, that is, to believers ; for where there is a promise, it behoves that there be also a faith in that promise.

St. Paul then shows by another example, that God did not grant mercy in the same degree to all the posterity even of Isaac, but much more abundantly to the children of the promise, that is, to believers ; and that this difference originates in his own will ; lest any one should arrogate any thing to himself on the



score of his own merits, v. 11, 12. 'for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth, it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger.' The purpose of God according to what election? Doubtless according to the election to some benefit, to some privilege, and in this instance specially to the right of primogeniture transferred from the elder to the younger of the sons or of the nations; whence it arises that God now prefers the Gentiles to the Jews. Here then his purpose of election is expressly mentioned, but to reprobation there is no allusion. St. Paul is satisfied with employing this example to establish the general principle of election to any mercy or benefit whatever. Why should we endeavour to extort from the words a harsh and severe meaning, which does not belong to them? If the elder shall serve the younger, whether the individual or the people be intended, (and in this case it certainly applies best to the people) it does not therefore follow that the elder shall be reprobated by a perpetual decree; nor, if the younger be favoured with a larger measure of grace, does it follow that the elder shall be favoured with none. For this can neither be said of Esau, who was taught the true worship of God in the house of his father, nor of his posterity, whom we know to have been called to the faith with the rest of the Gentiles. Hence this clause is added in Esau's blessing, *Gen. xxvii. 40.* 'it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck.' Now if the servitude of Esau implied his reprobation, these words must certainly

imply that it was not to last forever. But an expression which occurs in the same chapter is alleged as decisive: 'Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated,' v. 13. But how did God evince his love or hatred? He gives his own answer, *Mal.* i. 2, 3. 'I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste.' He evinced his love therefore to Jacob, by bringing him back again into his country from the land of Babylon; according to the purpose of that same election by which he now calls the Gentiles, and abandons the Jews. At the same time even this text does not prove the existence of any decree of reprobation, though St. Paul subjoins it incidentally, as it were, to illustrate the former phrase,—'the elder shall serve the younger;' for the text in *Mal.* i. 2, 3. differs from the present passage, inasmuch as it does not speak of the children yet unborn, but of the children when they had been long dead, after the one had eagerly accepted, and the other had despised the grace of God. Nor does this derogate in the least from the freedom of grace, because Jacob himself openly confesses that he was undeserving of the favour which he had obtained; *Gen.* xxxiii. 10. St. Paul therefore asserts the right of God to impart whatever grace he chooses even to the undeserving, v. 14, 15. and concludes—'so then it is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth, (not even of Jacob, who had openly confessed himself undeserving, nor of the Jews who followed after the law of righteousness) but of God that showeth mercy,' v. 16. Thus St. Paul establishes the right of God with respect to any election whatever, even of the undeserving, such as the Gentiles then seemed to be.

The apostle then proceeds to prove the same thing with regard to the rejection of the Jews, by considering God's right to exercise justice upon sinners in general; which justice, however, he does not display by means of reprobation, and hatred towards children yet unborn, but by the judicial hardening of the heart, and punishment of flagrant offenders. v. 17, 18. 'for the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up,' &c. He does not say, 'I have decreed,' but, 'I have raised up;' that is, in raising up Pharaoh he only called into action, by means of a most reasonable command, that hardness of heart, with which he was already acquainted. So *Exod.* iii. 19. 'I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go.' So too, 1 *Pet.* ii. (in which chapter much has been borrowed from the ninth of Romans,) v. 7, 8. 'unto them which be disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed,' .....&c. 'even to them that stumble at the word, being disobedient: whereunto also they were appointed.' They therefore first disallowed Christ, before they were disallowed by him; they were then finally appointed for punishment, from the time that they had persisted in disobedience.

To return, however, to the chapter in Romans. It follows in the next verses, 19—21. 'thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he yet find fault?' &c. 'why hast thou made me thus'—that is, hard-hearted, and a vessel unto dishonour, whilst thou showest mercy to others? In answer to which the apostle proves the reasonableness, not indeed of a decree of reprobation, but of that penal hardness of heart, which, after much long-suffering on the part of God,

is generally the final punishment reserved for the more atrocious sins. v. 21. 'hath not the potter power over the clay?' that is, the material fitted for his own purposes, to put honour upon whom he chooses, provided it be not on the disobedient: as it is said, 2 *Tim.* ii. 21. 'if a man purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour,' &c. whilst he hardens still more the hearts of the contumacious, that is, he punishes them, according to the next verse of this chapter—'he endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction.' Whence then were they fitted, except from their own hardness of heart, whereby the measure of their iniquity was completed! See *Gen.* xv. 16. and *Eph.* v. 6. 'because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.' Nor does the use of the passive voice always imply the sufferance of some external force; for we speak of one being given up to vice, or inclined to this or that propensity, meaning only that such is the bias of his own disposition. Finally, the three last verses of the chapter, which contain the conclusion of the whole question, are a convincing proof that St. Paul only intended to show the free and gratuitous mercy of God in calling the Gentiles to salvation, who should be obedient to the faith, and at the same time the justice of his judgements in hardening the hearts of the Jews and others, who obstinately adhered to the law of works. v. 30—32. 'what shall we say then? that the Gentiles.....have attained to righteousness which is of faith'—not therefore through election independent of faith: 'but Israel.....hath not attained: wherefore? because they

sought it not by faith'—not therefore through a decree of reprobation independent of unbelief.

After having passed this difficulty, those which remain will scarcely interrupt our course. *Psal.* xcv. 10, 11. 'forty years long was I grieved with this generation,' &c. 'unto whom I swear in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest.' It must be observed here how long it was before God passed his decree, and that (if we may reason by analogy respecting spiritual things, from types of this kind, as was done before in the case of Esau) he excluded from his eternal rest only those who tempted him, and whose hearts were hardened. *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 15, 16. 'and Jehovah God of their fathers sent to them by his messengers,' &c. 'because he had compassion on his people and on his dwelling-place: but they mocked the messengers of God,' &c. 'until the wrath of Jehovah arose against his people, till there was no remedy.' *Isai.* xxviii. 12, 13. 'to whom he said, This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest,' &c. 'yet they would not hear: but the word of Jehovah was unto them precept upon precept,' &c. 'that they might go and fall backward,' &c. 'wherefore hear the word of Jehovah, ye scornful men,' &c. xxix. 10. 'for Jehovah hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes.' The reason is given, v. 13, 14. whence it appears that it was not on account of God's decree, but of their own grievous wickedness: 'forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth,' &c. 'but have removed their heart far from me.....therefore the wisdom of their wise men shall perish,' &c. *Matt.* xi. 25, 26. 'I thank thee, O Father, because thou hast hid these

things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes : even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.' Lest we should attribute this solely to the arbitrary will of God, the verses preceding will explain why it so seemed good, and why Christ ascribes glory to the Father on this account, v. 21—23 ; in which it is disclosed what those wise men had first been themselves, namely, despisers of the divine grace. See also xiii. 11. 'because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given.' And why? the next verse subjoins the reason : 'whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance ; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.' It is impossible to apply this sentence otherwise, than to those who have first voluntarily rejected divine grace, in the sense in which nearly the same words are addressed, chap. xxv. 29. to the slothful servant. A passage to the same purpose occurs, chap. xiii. 13. 'therefore speak I to them in parables, because they seeing see not,' &c. Hence an easy solution is afforded for other texts. *John* viii. 43. 'ye cannot hear my word ;'—because when ye were able ye would not, ye are now unable on account of your unbelief in which you are hardened, not on account of any decree of God ; or in consequence of your pride, through which you cannot endure to hear the word ; or lastly, as it is expressed in the following verse, 44, because 'ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.' Again, v. 46. 'if I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?' Christ himself answers the question, v. 47. 'ye therefore hear not, because ye are not

of God.' What is the meaning of 'ye are not of God?' not surely, ye are not elect; it implies the same as 'to be of the devil,' v. 44, that is, to follow the devil rather than God. So too, x. 26. 'ye believe not because ye are not of my sheep.' Why not of my sheep? Because it was so decreed? By no means,—but because ye do not hear the word; because ye do not follow me; 'my sheep hear my voice, and they follow me,' v. 27. Ye, as I repeatedly tell you, do not believe, v. 25, 26. 'I told you, and ye believed not; the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me: but ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you'. The argument runs thus—ye do not believe, because ye are not of my sheep; ye are not of my sheep, because ye neither hear my word nor follow me. Christ certainly intended to give some such reason for their unbelief as would throw the fault of it upon themselves, not such a one as would exempt them from blame; but if not to be of his sheep, be interpreted to mean not to be of the elect, a privilege which had never been within their option, his words would contain an excuse for their conduct, rather than a reproof, which would be contrary to his obvious purpose. Again, xii. 39, 40, compared with *Isai.* vi. 10. 'therefore they could not believe, because that *Esaias* saith again, He hath blinded their eyes,' &c. Not because the words of *Isaiah*, or the decree of God delivered by his mouth, had previously taken away from them the power or grace of belief irrespectively; but according to the reason declared by the prophet why they could not believe, namely, because God had blinded their eyes. And why he had thus

blinded their eyes, the preceding chapter explains, v. 4, &c. because nothing more remained to be done to his unfruitful vineyard, but to cut it down. This appears still more clearly *Luke* xiii. 24, 25. 'many will seek to enter in, and shall not be able: when once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door.' xiv. 24. 'I say unto you that none of those men that were bidden shall taste of my supper.' xix. 42. 'if thou hadst known at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.' *Rom.* i. 21, 24, 26, 'because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God,' &c. 'wherefore God also gave them up,' &c. 'for this cause God gave them up,' &c. *2 Thes.* ii. 10—12. 'with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved: and for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.' iii. 2. 'for all men have not faith;' that is, obstinate and unreasonable sinners have it not; which the context shows is the sense intended. *1 Pet.* ii. 7, 8. 'the stone which the builders disallowed,' &c. 'and a stone of stumbling and rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient; whereunto also they were appointed,'—that is, to be disobedient. And why? Because they had disallowed that stone, and had stumbled upon it, disallowing Christ themselves before they were disallowed by him. Whoever has paid attention to what has been urged, will easily perceive that the difficulties respecting this doctrine



have arisen from the want of making the proper distinction between the punishment of hardening the heart and the decree of reprobation ; according to *Prov.* xix. 3. ‘ the foolishness of man perverteth his way, and his heart fretteth against Jehovah.’ For such do in effect impugn the justice of God, however vehemently they may disclaim the intention ;\* and might justly be reproved in the words of the heathen Homer :

*Αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο.*  
*Odyss.* I. 7.

. . . . . they perish’d self-destroy’d  
 By their own fault.      *Book I. l. 9.*

And again, in the person of Jupiter :

*ὦ πόποι, οἷον δὴ νῦν θεοῦς βροτοὶ αἰτιώωνται !*  
*ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασὶ κακὰ ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ*  
*σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν, ὑπὲρ μόρον, ἄλγε’ ἔχουσιν.*  
*Odyss.* I. 32.

Perverse mankind ! whose wills, created free,  
 Charge all their woes on absolute decree :  
 All to the dooming gods their guilt translate,  
 And follies are miscall’d the crimes of fate.  
*Book I. l. 40. Pope’s Translation.*

\* . . . . . to themselves  
 All glory arrogate, to God give none ;  
 Rather accuse him under usual names,  
 Fortune and fate, as one regardless quite  
 Of mortal things.      *Paradise Regained, IV. 314.*

On which passage Dunster quotes the second of the passages from the *Odyssey* with which Milton himself concludes this chapter.

## CHAPTER V.

### PREFATORY REMARKS.

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**I** CANNOT enter upon subjects of so much difficulty as the *Son of God* and the *Holy Spirit*, without again premising a few introductory words. If indeed I were a member of the Church of Rome, which requires implicit obedience to its creed on all points of faith, I should have acquiesced from education or habit in its simple decree and authority, even though it denies that the doctrine of the Trinity, as now received, is capable of being proved from any passage of Scripture.\* But since I enrol myself among the

\* 'But I would show you the divers ways the Doctors of your Church do the principal and proper work of the Socinians for them, undermining the doctrine of the Trinity, by denying it to be supported by those pillars of the faith, which alone are fit and able to support it, I mean Scripture, and the consent of the ancient Doctors. For Scripture, your men deny very plainly and frequently that this doctrine can be proved by it. See if you please this plainly taught, and urged very earnestly by Cardinal Hosius, *De Auctor. Sacr.* lib. iii. p. 53. by Gordonius Huntæus, Tom. I. Controv. 1. *De Verbo Dei*, lib. x. by Gretserus and Tannerus, in *Colloquio Ratisbon.* and also by Vega, Possevin, Wickus, and others.' Chillingworth's Preface to the Author of *Charity Maintained*, a work published in 1630 by Matthias Wilson, a Jesuit, under the name of Edward Knott. 'Longe ergo sincerius facerent, et prout ingenuos disputatores decet, si cum Pontificiis faterentur istam distinctionem ex Scriptura non posse probari, sed tantum ex traditione.' Curcellæi *Dissertatio Prima de vocibus Trinitatis*, &c. 38. See also the passages quoted by Carcellæus from writers of the Romish Church.

number of those who acknowledge the word of God alone as the rule of faith, and freely advance what appears to me much more clearly deducible from the Holy Scriptures than the commonly received opinion, I see no reason why any one who belongs to the same Protestant or Reformed Church, and professes to acknowledge the same rule of faith as myself, should take offence at my freedom, particularly as I impose my authority on no one, but merely propose what I think more worthy of belief than the creed in general acceptance. I only entreat that my readers will ponder and examine my statements in a spirit which desires to discover nothing but the truth, and with a mind free from prejudice. For without intending to oppose the authority of Scripture, which I consider inviolably sacred, I only take upon myself to refute human interpretations as often as the occasion requires, conformably to my right, or rather to my duty as a man. If indeed those with whom I have to contend were able to produce direct attestation from heaven to the truth of the doctrine which they espouse, it would be nothing less than impiety to venture to raise, I do not say a clamour, but so much as a murmur against it. But inasmuch as they can lay claim to nothing more than human powers, assisted by that spiritual illumination which is common to all,\* it is not unreasonable that they should on their part allow the privileges of diligent research and free discussion to another inquirer, who is seeking truth through the same means and in the same way as

\*The spirit of God, promis'd alike and given  
To all believers.

*Paradise Lost*, XII. 519.

themselves,\* and whose desire of benefiting mankind is equal to their own.

In reliance, therefore, upon the divine assistance, let us now enter upon the subject itself.†

#### OF THE SON OF GOD.

Hitherto I have considered the *internal efficiency* of God as shown in his decrees.

His *external efficiency*, or the execution of his decrees, whereby he carries into effect by external agency whatever decrees he has purposed within himself, may be comprised under the heads of *Generation*, *Creation*, and the *Government of the Universe*.

First, *Generation*, whereby God, in pursuance of his decree, has begotten his only Son; whence he chiefly derives his appellation of Father.

Generation must be an external efficiency, since the Father and Son are different persons; and the divines themselves acknowledge this, who argue that there is a certain emanation of the Son from the Father (which will be explained when the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit is under examination;) for though they teach that the Spirit is co-essential with the Father, they do not deny that it emanates, and goes out, and proceeds, and is breathed from the Father, which are all expressions denoting external efficiency. In conjunction with this doctrine they

\*The sentence is thus written in the original—*quid est æquius quam ut permittant alteri eandem atque ipsi ratione ac via veritatem indaganti*—probably an error for *eadem*.

† ‘Which, imploring divine assistance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the British nation, I now begin.’ *History of Britain*, B. I. Prose Works, IV. 3.

hold that the Son is also co-essential with the Father, and generated from all eternity. Hence this question, which is naturally very obscure, becomes involved in still greater difficulties if the received opinion respecting it be followed; for though the Father be said in Scripture to have begotten the Son in a double sense, the one literal, with reference to the production of the Son, the other metaphorical, with reference to his exaltation, many commentators have applied the passages which allude to the exaltation and mediatorial functions of Christ as proofs of his generation from all eternity. They have indeed this excuse for their proceeding, if any excuse can be offered in such a case, that it was impossible to find a single text in all Scripture to prove the eternal generation of the Son. This point appears certain, notwithstanding the arguments of some of the moderns to the contrary, that the Son existed in the beginning, under the name of the *logos* or word, and was the first of the whole creation,\* by whom afterwards all other things were made both in heaven and earth. *John* i. 1—3. ‘in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,’ &c. xvii. 5. ‘and now, O Father, glorify me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.’ *Col.* i. 15, 18. ‘the first-born of every creature.’ *Rev.* iii. 14. ‘the beginning of the creation of

\*Thee next they sang of all creation first,  
 Begotten Son, divine Similitude,  
 In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud  
 Made visible, the Almighty Father shines;  
 Whom else no creature can behold; on thee  
 Impress'd, the effulgence of his glory abides,  
 Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 383.

God.' 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. 'Jesus Christ, by whom are all things.' *Eph.* iii. 9. 'who created all things by Jesus Christ.' *Col.* i. 16. 'all things were created by him and for him.' *Heb.* i. 2. 'by whom also he made the worlds,' whence it is said, v. 10, 'thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth;' on which point more will be said in the seventh Chapter, on the Creation.

All these passages prove the existence of the Son before the world was made, but they conclude nothing respecting his generation from all eternity. The other texts which are produced relate only to his metaphorical generation, that is, to his resurrection from the dead, or to his unction to the mediatorial office, according to St. Paul's own interpretation of the second Psalm: 'I will declare the decree; Jehovah hath said unto me, thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee'—\* which the apostle thus explains, *Acts* xiii. 32, 33. 'God hath fulfilled the promise unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.' *Rom.* i. 4. 'declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.' Hence, *Col.* i. 18. *Rev.* i. 4. 'the first begotten of the dead.' *Heb.* i. 5, speaking of the exaltation of the Son above the angels; 'for unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten

\* Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand;

This day have I begot whom I declare

My only Son, and on this holy hill

Him have anointed, whom ye now behold

At my right hand.

*Paradise Lost*, V. 603.

thee? and again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son.' Again, v. 5, 6, with reference to the priesthood of Christ; 'so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee: as he saith also in another place, Thou art a priest for ever,' &c. Further, it will be apparent from the second Psalm, that God has begotten the Son, that is, has made him a king: v. 6. 'yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Sion;' and then in the next verse, after having anointed his King, whence the name of 'Christ' is derived, he says, 'this day have I begotten thee.\*' *Heb. i. 4, 5.* 'being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.' No other name can be intended but that of Son, as the following verse proves: 'for unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee?' The Son also declares the same of himself. *John x. 35, 36.* 'say ye of Him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?' By a similar figure of speech, though in a much lower sense, the saints are also said to be begotten of God.†

\* . . . . . Into thee such virtue and grace  
Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know  
In heaven and hell thy power without compare;  
And this perverse commotion govern'd thus,  
To manifest thee worthiest to be heir  
Of all things; to be heir, and to be king  
By sacred unction, thy deserved right.

*Paradise Lost, VI. 703.*

† Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view  
And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn

It is evident however upon a careful comparison and examination of all these passages, and particularly from the whole of the second Psalm, that however the generation of the Son may have taken place, it arose from no natural necessity, as is generally contended, but was no less owing to the decree and will of the Father than his priesthood or kingly power, or his resuscitation from the dead. Nor does this form any objection to his bearing the title of begotten, in whatever sense that expression is to be understood, or of God's 'own Son,' *Rom. viii. 32.* For he is called the own Son of God merely because he had no other Father besides God, whence he himself said, that 'God was his Father,' *John v. 18.* For to Adam God stood less in the relation of Father, than of Creator, having only formed him from the dust of the earth; whereas he was properly the Father of the Son made of his own substance. Yet it does not follow from hence that the Son is co-essential with the Father, for then the title of Son would be least of all applicable to him, since he who is properly the Son is not coeval with the Father, much less of the same numerical essence, otherwise the Father and the Son would be one person; nor did the Father beget him from any natural necessity, but of his own free

In what degree or meaning thou art call'd  
 The Son of God; which bears no single sense:  
 The Son of God I also am, or was;  
 And if I was, I am; relation stands:  
 All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought  
 In some respect far higher so declar'd.

*Paradise Regained, IV. 514.*

'The people of God, redeemed and washed with Christ's blood, and dignified with so many glorious titles of saints, and sons in the gospel.'  
*Of Reformation in England. Prose Works, I. 14.*



will.\*—a mode more perfect and more agreeable to the paternal dignity ; particularly since the Father is God, all whose works, as has been already proved from Scripture, are executed freely according to his own good pleasure, and consequently the work of generation.

For questionless, it was in God's power consistently with the perfection of his own essence not to have begotten the Son, inasmuch as generation does not pertain to the nature of the Deity, who stands in no need of propagation ;† but whatever does not pertain to his own essence or nature, he does not effect like a natural agent from any physical necessity. If the generation of the Son proceeded from a physical necessity, the Father impaired himself by physically begetting a co-equal ; which God could no more do than he could deny himself ; therefore the generation of the Son cannot have proceeded otherwise than from a decree, and of the Father's own free will.

Thus the Son was begotten of the Father in consequence of his decree, and therefore within the limits of time, for the decree itself must have been anterior to the execution of the decree, as is sufficiently clear from the insertion of the word ' to-day.' Nor can I

\* Milton puts the same distinction into the mouth of Adam, speaking after his fall of the relation in which his sons stood to him :

..... what if thy son  
Prove disobedient, and reprov'd retort,  
'Wherefore didst thou beget me ? I sought it not :'  
Would'st thou admit for his contempt of thee  
That proud excuse ? yet him not thy election,  
But natural necessity begot. *Paradise Lost*, X. 760.

† ..... No need that thou  
Should'st propagate, already infinite,  
And through all numbers absolute, though one. *VIII.* 419.

discover on what passage of Scripture the assertors of the eternal generation of the Son ground their opinion, for the text in *Micah* v. 2. does not speak of his generation, but of his works, which are only said to have been wrought 'from of old.' But this will be discussed more at large hereafter.

The Son is also called 'only begotten.' *John* i. 14. 'and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father.' v. 18. 'the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father.' iii. 16, 18. 'he gave his only begotten Son.' 1 *John* iv. 9. 'God sent his only begotten Son.' Yet he is not called one essentially with the Father, inasmuch as he was visible to sight, and given by the Father, by whom also he was sent, and from whom he proceeded; but he enjoys the title of only begotten by way of superiority, as distinguished from many others who are also said to have been born of God. *John* i. 13. 'which were born of God.' 1 *John* iii. 9. 'whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin.' *James* i. 18. 'of his own will begat he us with the word of truth.' 1 *John* v. 1. 'whosoever believeth,' &c. 'is born of God.' 1 *Pet.* i. 3. 'which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope.' But since throughout the Scriptures the Son is never said to be begotten, except, as above, in a metaphorical sense, it seems probable that he is called 'only begotten' principally because he is the one mediator between God and man.

So also the Son is called the 'first born.' *Rom.* viii. 29. 'that he might be the first born among many brethren.' *Col.* i. 15. 'the first born of every creature.' v. 18. 'the first born from the dead.' *Heb.*

i. 6. 'when he bringeth in the first begotten into the world.' *Rev.* iii. 14. 'the beginning of the creation of God,'—all which passages preclude the idea of his co-essentiality with the Father, and of his generation from all eternity. Thus it is said of Israel, *Exod.* iv. 22. 'thus saith Jehovah, Israel is my son, even my first born;' and of Ephraim, *Jer.* xxxi. 9. 'Ephraim is my first born;' and of all the saints, *Heb.* xii. 23. 'to the general assembly of the first born.'

Hitherto only the metaphorical generation of Christ has been considered; but since to generate another who had no previous existence, is to give him being, and that if God generate by a physical necessity, he can generate nothing but a co-equal Deity, which would be inconsistent with self-existence, an essential attribute of Divinity; (so that according to the one hypothesis there would be two infinite Gods, or according to the other the *first* or *efficient cause* would become the *effect*, which no man in his senses will admit) it becomes necessary to inquire how or in what sense God the Father can have begotten the Son. This point also will be easily explained by reference to Scripture. For when the Son is said to be 'the first born of every creature,' and 'the beginning of the creation of God,' nothing can be more evident than that God of his own will created, or generated, or produced the Son before all things, endowed with the divine nature, as in the fulness of time he miraculously begat him in his human nature of the Virgin Mary. The generation of the divine nature is described by no one with more sublimity and copiousness than by the apostle to the *Hebrews*, i. 2, 3. 'whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom

also he made the worlds ; who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person,' &c. It must be understood from this, that God imparted to the Son as much as he pleased of the divine nature, nay of the divine substance itself, care being taken not to confound the substance with the whole essence, which would imply, that the Father had given to the Son what he retained numerically the same himself ; which would be a contradiction of terms instead of a mode of generation. This is the whole that is revealed concerning the generation of the Son of God. Whoever wishes to be wiser than this, becomes foiled in his pursuit after wisdom, entangled in the deceitfulness of vain philosophy, or rather of sophistry, and involved in darkness.

Since, however, Christ not only bears the name of the only begotten Son of God, but is also several times called in Scripture God, notwithstanding the universal doctrine that there is but one God, it appeared to many, who had no mean opinion of their own acuteness, that there was an inconsistency in this ; which gave rise to an hypothesis no less strange than repugnant to reason, namely, that the Son, although personally and numerically another, was yet essentially one with the Father, and that thus the unity of God was preserved.

But unless the terms unity and duality be signs of the same ideas to God which they represent to men, it would have been to no purpose that God had so repeatedly inculcated that first commandment, that he was the one and only God, if another could be said to exist besides, who also himself ought to be believed in as the one God. Unity and duality cannot

consist of one and the same essence. God is one ens, not two; one essence and one subsistence, which is nothing but a substantial essence, appertain to one ens; if two subsistences or two persons be assigned to one essence, it involves a contradiction of terms, by representing the essence as at once simple and compound. If one divine essence be common to two persons, that essence or divinity will either be in the relation of a whole to its several parts, or of a genus to its several species, or lastly of a common subject to its accidents. If none of these alternatives be conceded, there is no mode of escaping from the absurd consequences that follow, such as that one essence may be the third part of two or more.

There would have been no occasion for the supporters of these opinions to have offered such violence to reason, nay even to so much plain scriptural evidence, if they had duly considered God's own words addressed to kings and princes,\* *Psal.* lxxxii. 6. 'I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High;' or those of Christ himself, *John* x. 35. 'if he called them Gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken—;' or those of St. Paul, *1 Cor.* viii. 5, 6. 'for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or earth, (for there be gods many and lords many,) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things,' &c. or lastly of *St. Peter*, ii. 1, 4. 'that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature,'

\* . . . . . for glory done  
Of triumph, to be styl'd great conquerors,  
Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods.

*Paradise Lost*, XL 698.

which implies much more than the title of gods in the sense in which that title is applied to kings ; though no one would conclude from this expression that the saints were co-essential with God.

Let us then discard reason in sacred matters, and follow the doctrine of Holy Scripture exclusively.\* Accordingly, no one need expect that I should here premise a long metaphysical discussion, and introduce all that commonly received drama of the personalities in the Godhead : since it is most evident, in the first place, from numberless passages of Scripture, that there is in reality but one true independent and supreme God ;† and as he is called one, (inasmuch as human reason and the common language of mankind, and the Jews, the people of God, have always considered him as one person only, that is, one in a numerical sense) let us have recourse to the sacred writings in order to know who this one true and supreme God is. This knowledge ought to be derived in the first instance from the gospel, since the clearest doctrine respecting the one God must necessarily be that copious and explanatory revelation concerning him which was delivered by Christ himself to his apostles, and by the apostles to their followers. Nor is it to be supposed that the gospel would be ambiguous or obscure on this subject ; for it was not given for the purpose of promulgating new and incredible doctrines respecting the nature of God, hith-

\* Down, reason, then ; at least vain reasonings, down.  
*Sampson Agonistes*, 322.

† Seem I to thee sufficiently possess'd  
Of happiness or not ? who am alone  
From all eternity ; for none I know  
Second to me or like, equal much less. *Paradise Lost*, VIII. 404.

erto utterly unheard of by his own people, but to announce salvation to the Gentiles through Messiah the Son of God, according to the promise of the God of Abraham. ‘No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him,’ *John* i. 18. Let us therefore consult the Son in the first place respecting God.

According to the testimony of the Son, delivered in the clearest terms, the Father is that one true God, by whom are all things. Being asked by one of the scribes, *Mark* xii. 28, 29, 32, which was the first commandment of all, he answered from *Deut.* vi. 4. ‘the first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord;’ or as it is in Hebrew, ‘Jehovah our God is one Jehovah.’ The scribe assented; ‘there is one God, and there is none other one but he;’ and in the following verse Christ expresses his approbation of this answer. Nothing can be more clear than that it was the opinion of the scribe, as well of the other Jews, that by the unity of God is intended his oneness of person. That this God was no other than God the Father, is proved from *John* viii. 41, 54. ‘we have one Father, even God. It is my Father that honoureth me; of whom ye say that he is your God.’ iv. 21. ‘neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father.’ Christ therefore agrees with the whole people of God, that the Father is that one and only God. For who can believe that the very first of the commandments would have been so obscure, and so ill understood by the Church through such a succession of ages, that two other

persons, equally entitled to worship, should have remained wholly unknown to the people of God, and debarred of divine honours even to that very day? especially as God, where he is teaching his own people respecting the nature of their worship under the gospel, forewarns them that they would have for their God the one Jehovah whom they had always served, and David, that is Christ, for their King and Lord. *Jer.* xxx. 9. 'they shall serve Jehovah their God, and David their King, whom I will raise up unto them.' In this passage Christ, such as God willed that he should be known or served by his people under the gospel, is expressly distinguished from the one God Jehovah, both by nature and title. Christ himself therefore, the Son of God, teaches us nothing in the gospel respecting the one God but what the law had before taught, and everywhere clearly asserts him to be his Father. *John* xvii, 3. 'this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' xx. 17. 'I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God and your God:' if therefore the Father be the God of Christ, and the same be our God, and if there be none other God but one, there can be no God beside the Father.

Paul, the apostle and interpreter of Christ, teaches the same in so clear and perspicuous a manner, that one might almost imagine the inculcation of this truth to have been his sole object. No teacher of catechumens in the Church could have spoken more plainly and expressly of the one God, according to the sense in which the universal consent of mankind has agreed to understand unity of number.



1 *Cor.* viii. 4—6. ‘we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one: for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many and lords many,) but to us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.’ Here the expression ‘there is none other God but one,’ excludes not only all other essences, but all other persons whatever; for it is expressly said in the sixth verse, that ‘the Father is that one God;’ wherefore there is no other person but one; at least in that sense which is intended by divines, when they argue from *John* xiv. 16. that there is another God, for the sake of asserting the personality of the Holy Spirit. Again, to those ‘who are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, God the Father, of whom are all things’ is opposed singly; he who is numerically ‘one God,’ to ‘many Gods.’ Though the Son be another God, yet in this passage he is called merely ‘Lord;’ he ‘of whom are all things’ is clearly distinguished from him ‘by whom are all things,’ and if a difference of causation prove a difference of essence, he is distinguished also in essence. Besides, since a numerical difference originates in difference of essence, those who are two numerically, must be also two essentially.\* There is ‘one Lord,’ namely he whom

\* ‘Res etiam singulæ, sive individua, quæ vulgo vocant, singulas si-bique proprias formas habent; differunt quippe numero inter se, quod nemo non fatetur. Quid autem est aliud numero inter se, nisi singulis formis differre? Numerus enim, ut recte Scaliger, est affectio essentiam consequens. Quæ igitur numero, essentia quoque differunt; et nequaquam numero, nisi essentia, differrent. Evigilent hic theologi

‘God the Father hath made,’ *Acts* ii. 36. much more therefore is the Father Lord, who made him, though he be not here called Lord. For he who calls the Father ‘one God,’ also calls him one Lord above all, as *Psal.* cx. 1. ‘the Lord said unto my Lord,’—a passage which will be more fully discussed hereafter. He who calls Jesus Christ ‘one Lord,’ does not call him one God, for this reason among others, that ‘God the Father hath made him both Lord and Christ’ *Acts* ii. 36. Elsewhere therefore he calls the Father both God and Lord of him whom he here calls ‘one Lord Jesus Christ.’ *Eph.* i. 17. ‘the God of our Lord Jesus Christ.’ *1 Cor.* xi. 3. ‘the head of Christ is God.’ xv. 28. ‘the Son also himself shall be subject unto him.’ If in truth the Father be called ‘the Father of Christ,’ if he be called ‘the God of Christ,’ if he be called ‘the head of Christ,’ if he be called the God to whom Christ described as the Lord, nay, even as ‘the Son himself, is subject, and shall be subjected,’ why should not the Father, be also the Lord of the same Lord Christ, and the God of the same God Christ; since Christ must also be God in the same relative manner that he is Lord and Son? Lastly, the Father is he ‘of whom,’ and ‘from whom,’ and ‘by whom,’ and ‘for whom are all things;’ *Rom.* xi. 36. *Heb.* ii. 10. The Son is not he ‘of whom,’ but only ‘by

Quod si quæcunque numero, essentia quoque differunt, nec tamen materia, necesse est formis inter se differant; non autem communibus, ergo propriis.’ *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*. Prose Works, VI. 214. The hint thrown out to the theologians in this passage is very remarkable; but I am not aware that it has ever been noticed as affording a clew to the opinion of Milton on the important subject alluded to, which could scarcely have been expected to be found in a treatise on Logick.

whom ;' and that not without exception, 'all things,' namely 'which were made,' *John* i. 3. 'all things, except him which did put all things under him,' *1 Cor.* xv. 27. It is evident therefore that when it is said 'all things were by him,' it must be understood of a secondary and delegated power ; and that when the particle *by* is used in reference to the Father, it denotes the primary cause, as *John* vi. 57. 'I live by the Father ;' when in reference to the Son, the secondary and instrumental cause ; which will be explained more clearly on a future occasion.

Again, *Eph.* iv. 4—6. 'there is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling ; one Lord, one faith, one baptism ; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.' Here there is one Spirit, and one Lord ; but the Father is one, and therefore God is one in the same sense as the remaining objects of which unity is predicated, that is, numerically one, and therefore one also in person. *1 Tim.* ii. 5. 'there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.' Here the mediator, though not purely human, is purposely named man, by the title derived from his inferior nature, lest he should be thought equal to the Father, or the same God, whereas the argument distinctly and expressly refers to one God. Besides, it cannot be explained how any one can be a mediator to himself on his own behalf ; according to *Gal.* iii. 20. 'a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one.' How then can God be a mediator of God ? Not to mention that he himself uniformly testifies of himself, *John* viii. 28. 'I do nothing of myself,' and v. 42. 'neither came I of myself.' Un-

doubtedly therefore he does not act as a mediator to himself; nor return as a mediator to himself. *Rom. v. 10.* 'we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.' To whatever God we were reconciled, if he be one God, he cannot be the God by whom we are reconciled, inasmuch as that God is another person; for if he be one and the same, he must be a mediator between himself and us, and reconcile us to himself by himself; which is an insurmountable difficulty.

Though all this be so self-evident as to require no explanation,—namely, that the Father alone is a self-existent God, and that a being which is not self-existent cannot be God—it is wonderful with what futile subtleties, or rather with what juggling artifices, certain individuals have endeavoured to elude or obscure the plain meaning of these passages; leaving no stone unturned, recurring to every shift, attempting every means, as if their object were not to preach the pure and unadulterated truth of the gospel to the poor and simple, but rather by dint of vehemence and obstinacy to sustain some absurd paradox from falling, by the treacherous aid of sophisms and verbal distinctions, borrowed from the barbarous ignorance of the schools.

They defend their conduct, however, on the ground that though these opinions may seem inconsistent with reason, they are to be held for the sake of other passages of Scripture, and that otherwise Scripture will not be consistent with itself. Setting aside reason, therefore, let us have recourse again to the language of Scripture.

The passages in question are two only. The first is *John* x. 30. 'I and my Father are one,'—that is, one in essence, as it is commonly interpreted. But God forbid that we should decide rashly on any point relative to the Deity. Two things may be called one in more than one way. Scripture saith, and the Son saith, 'I and my Father are one,'—I bow to their authority. Certain commentators conjecture that they are one in essence,—I reject what is merely man's invention. For the Son has not left us to conjecture in what manner he is one with the Father, (whatever member of the Church may have first arrogated to himself the merit of the discovery,) but explains the doctrine himself most fully, so far as we are concerned to know it. The Father and the Son are one, not indeed in essence, for he had himself said the contrary in the preceding verse, 'my Father, which gave them me, is greater than all,' (see also xiv. 28. 'my Father is greater than I,') and in the following verses he distinctly denies that he made himself God, in saying, 'I and my Father are one;' he insists that he had only said as follows, which implies far less, v. 36. 'say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?' This must be spoken of two persons not only not co-essential, but not co-equal. Now if the Son be laying down a doctrine respecting the unity of the divine essence in two persons of the Trinity, how is it that he does not rather attribute the same unity of essence to the three persons? Why does he divide the indivisible Trinity? For there cannot be unity without totality. Therefore, on the authority of the opinions holden by my

opponents themselves, the Son and the Father without the Spirit are not one in essence. How then are they one? it is the province of Christ alone to acquaint us with this, and accordingly he does acquaint us with it. In the first place, they are one, inas-  
much as they speak and act with unanimity; and so he explains himself in the same chapter, after the Jews had misunderstood his saying: x. 38. 'believe the works; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him.' xiv. 10. 'believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself, but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works.' Here he evidently distinguishes the Father from himself in his whole capacity, but asserts at the same time that the Father remains in him; which does not denote unity of essence, but only intimacy of communion. Secondly, he declares himself to be one with the Father in the same manner as we are one with him,—that is, not in essence, but in  
love, in communion, in agreement, in charity, in spirit, in glory. *John* xiv. 20, 21. 'at that day ye shall know that I am in the Father, and ye in me, and I in you: he that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father.' xvii. 21. 'that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us.' v. 23. 'I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me,' v. 22. 'the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one.' When

the Son has shown in so many modes how he and his Father are one, why should I set them all aside? why should I, on the strength of my own reasoning, though in opposition to reason itself, devise another mode, which makes them one in essence; or why, if already devised by some other person, adopt it, in preference to Christ's own mode? If it be proposed on the single authority of the Church, the true doctrine of the orthodox Church herself teaches me otherwise; inasmuch as it instructs me to listen to the words of Christ before all other.\*

The other passage, and which according to the general opinion affords the clearest foundation for the received doctrine of the essential unity of the three persons, is 1 *John* v. 7. 'there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.' But not to mention that this verse is wanting in the Syriac† and the other two Oriental versions, the Arabic and the Ethiopic, as well as in the greater part of the ancient Greek manuscripts, and that in those manuscripts which actually contain it, many various readings occur, it no more necessarily proves those to be essentially one,

\*'The best of those that then wrote (in the first ages of Christianity) disclaim that any man should repose on them, and send all to the Scriptures.' *Of Reformation in England. Prose Works*, I. 11.

† This is true of the manuscripts of the old Syriac version, but the printed editions of the Syriac as well as of the Armenian versions contain the disputed clause. See Bishop Marsh's *Letters to Archdeacon Travis*. Preface, Notes 8, 9, 10, 11. With respect to the Greek manuscripts, Milton expresses himself cautiously. It now appears that the clause is not found in any Greek manuscript written before the sixteenth century, which has been yet collated. For an elaborate account of the arguments for and against its authenticity, see Horne's *Introduction*, &c. Part II. Chap. iv. Sect. 5. § 6. where references are given to the principal authorities.

who are said to be one in heaven, than it proves those to be essentially one, who are said to be one on earth in the following verse. And not only Erasmus, but even Beza, however unwillingly, acknowledged (as may be seen in their own writings)\* that if John be really the author of the verse, he is only speaking here, as in the last quoted passage, of an unity of agreement and testimony. Besides, who are the three who are said to bear witness? That they are three Gods, will not be admitted; therefore neither is it the one God, but one record or one testimony of three witnesses, which is implied. But he who is not co-essential with God the Father, cannot be co-equal with the Father. This text however will be discussed more at large in the following chapter.

But, it is objected, although Scripture does not say in express words that the Father and the Son are one in essence, yet reason proves the truth of the doctrine from these, as well as from other passages of Scripture.

In the first place, granting, (which I am far from doing,) that this is the case, yet on a subject so sublime, and so far above our reason, where the very elements and first postulates, as it were, of our faith are concerned, belief must be founded, not on mere

\* 'Annon illico poterunt tergiversari, de consensu dictum esse, non de eadem essentia? . . . . Nihil autem æque confirmat auctoritatem testimonii ut consensus. Itaque consentiunt in terra Spiritus aqua et sanguis. An hæc tria sunt unum, sicut Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus unum sunt? Nemo dicit, opinor, sed testimonii consensu sunt unum; ita Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus sunt unum.' *Erasmi Responsio ad Notationes novas* Ed. Leid. Tom. IX. p. 278. Edit. Lug. Bat. 1703. 'Et hi tres unum sunt: id est, ita prorsus consentiunt ac si unus testis essent; uti re vera unum sunt si *divinus* spectes; sed de illa (ut mihi quidem videtur) non agitur hoc in loco.' Beza in loc.



reason, but on the word of God exclusively, where the language of the revelation is most clear and particular. Reason itself, however, protests strongly against the doctrine in question; for how can reason establish (as it must in the present case) a position contrary to reason? Undoubtedly the product of reason must be something consistent with reason, not a notion as absurd as it is removed from all human comprehension. Hence we conclude, that this opinion is agreeable neither to Scripture nor reason. The other alternative therefore must be adopted, namely, that if God be one God, and that one God be the Father, and if notwithstanding the Son be also called God, the Son must have received the name and nature of Deity from God the Father, in conformity with his decree and will, after the manner stated before. This doctrine is not disproved by reason, and Scripture teaches it in innumerable passages.

But those who insist that the Son is one God with the Father, consider their point as susceptible of ample proof, even without the two texts already examined, (on which indeed some admit that no reliance is to be placed) if it can be demonstrated from a sufficient number of Scripture testimonies that the name and attributes and works of God, as well as divine honours, are habitually ascribed to the Son. To proceed therefore in the same line of argument, I do not ask them to believe that the Father alone and none else is God, unless I shall have proved, first, that in every passage each of the particulars above mentioned is attributed in express terms only to one God the Father, as well by the Son himself as by his apostles. Secondly, that wherever they are attributed to

the Son, it is in such a manner that they are easily understood to be attributable in their original and proper sense to the Father alone ; and that the Son acknowledges himself to possess whatever share of Deity is assigned to him, by virtue of the peculiar gift and kindness of the Father ; to which the apostles also bear their testimony. And lastly, that the Son himself and his apostles acknowledge throughout the whole of their discourses and writings, that the Father is greater than the Son in all things.

I am aware of the answer which will be here made by those who, while they believe in the unity of God, yet maintain that the Father alone is not God. I shall therefore meet their objection in the outset, lest they should raise a difficulty and outcry at each individual passage. They twice beg the question, or rather request us to make two gratuitous concessions. In the first place, they insist, that wherever the name of God is attributed to the Father alone, it should be understood *ὁμοῶς*, not *ὑποστατικῶς*, that is to say, that the name of the Father, who is unity, should be understood to signify the three persons, or the whole essence of the Trinity, not the single person of the Father. This is on many accounts a ridiculous distinction, and invented solely for the purpose of supporting their peculiar opinion ; although in reality, instead of supporting it, it will be found to be dependent on it, and therefore if the opinion itself be invalidated, for which purpose a simple denial is sufficient, the futile distinction falls to the ground at the same time. For the fact is, not merely that the distinction is a futile one, but that it is no distinction at all ; it is a mere verbal quibble, founded on the use of

synonymous words, and cunningly dressed up in terms borrowed from the Greek to dazzle the eyes of novices. For since 'essence' and 'hypostasis' mean the same thing, as has been shown in the second Chapter, it follows that there can be no real difference of meaning between the adverbs 'essentially' and 'substantially,' which are derived from them. If then the name of God be attributed to the Father alone 'essentially,' it must also be attributed to the Father alone 'substantially;' since one substantial essence means nothing else than one hypostasis, and vice versa. I would therefore ask my adversaries, whether they hold the Father to be an abstract ens or not? Questionless they will reply, the primary ens of all. I answer, therefore, that as he has one hypostasis, so must he have one essence proper to himself, incommunicable in the highest degree, and participated by no one, that is, by no person besides, for he cannot have his own proper hypostasis, without having his own proper essence. For it is impossible for any ens to retain its own essence in common with any other thing whatever, since by this essence it is what it is,\* and is numerically distinguished from all others. If therefore the Son, who has his own proper hypostasis, have not also his own proper essence, but the essence of the Father, he becomes on their hypothesis either no ens at all, or the same ens with the Father; which strikes at the very foundation of the Christian religion. The answer which is commonly made, is ridiculous—namely, that although one finite essence can pertain to one person on-

\* 'The form, by which the thing is what it is, is oft so slender and undistinguishable,' &c. &c. *Tetractordon. Prose Works, II. 140.*

ly, one infinite essence may pertain to a plurality of persons ; whereas in reality the infinitude of the essence affords an additional reason why it can pertain to only one person. All acknowledge that both the essence and the person of the Father are infinite ; therefore the essence of the Father cannot be communicated to another person, for otherwise there might be two, or any imaginable number of infinite persons.

The second postulate is, that wherever the Son attributes Deity to the Father alone, and as to one greater than himself, he must be understood to speak in his human character, or as mediator. Wherever the context and the fact itself require this interpretation, I shall readily concede it, without losing anything by the concession ; for however strongly it may be contended, that when the Son attributes every thing to the Father alone, he speaks in his human or mediatorial capacity, it can never be inferred from hence that he is one God with the Father. On the other hand I shall not scruple to deny the proposition, whenever it is to be conceded not to the sense of the passage, but merely to serve their own theory ; and shall prove that what the Son attributes to the Father, he attributes in his filial or even in his divine character to the Father as God of God, and not to himself under any title or pretence whatever.

With regard to the name of God, wherever simultaneous mention is made of the Father and the Son, that name is uniformly ascribed to the Father alone, except in such passages as shall be hereafter separately considered. I shall quote in the first place the texts of the former class, which are by far the more considerable in point of number, and form a large and

compact body of proofs. *John* iii. 16. 'so God loved the world, that he gave his own Son,' &c. vi. 27. 'him hath God the Father sealed.' v. 29. 'this is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.' xiv. 1. 'ye believe in God, believe also in me.' What is meant by believing in any one, will be explained hereafter; in the mean time it is clear that two distinct things are here intended—'in God' and 'in me.' Thus all the apostles in conjunction, *Acts* iv. 24. 'lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God which hast made heaven and earth.....who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage.....against the Lord, and against his Christ?' *Rom.* viii. 3. 'God sending his own Son.' 1 *Thess.* iii. 11. 'now God himself, and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you.' *Col.* ii. 2. 'to the acknowledgement of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ.\* iii. 3. 'your life is hid with Christ in God.' 2 *Tim.* iv. 1. 'I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord Jesus Christ.' 1 *John* iv. 9. 'the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son.' So also where Christ is named first in order. *Gal.* i. 1. 'by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.' 2 *Thess.* ii. 16. 'now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father.' The same thing may be observed in the very outset of all the Epistles of St. Paul and of the other apostles, where, as is natural, it is their custom to declare in express and distinct terms who he is by whose divine authority they have

\* Τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί, καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ. Gr. of God, even of the Father, and of Christ. Macknight's Translation. See also Hammond and Whitby on the passage.

been sent. *Rom.* i. 7, 8. *1 Cor.* i. 1—3. *2 Cor.* i. 1—3, and so throughout to the book of Revelations. See also *Mark* i. 1.

The Son likewise teaches that the attributes of divinity belong to the Father alone, to the exclusion even of himself. With regard to omniscience. *Matt.* xxiv. 36. ‘of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only;’ and still more explicitly, *Mark* xiii. 32. ‘not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.’

With regard to supreme dominion both in heaven and earth, the unlimited authority and full power of decreeing according to his own independent will.\* *Matt.* vi. 13. ‘thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever.’ xviii. 35. ‘so likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not,’ &c.—xxvi. 29. ‘in my Father’s kingdom.’ xx. 23. ‘to sit on my right hand and on my left, is not mine to give, but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father.’ *It is not mine*—, in my mediatorial capacity, as it is commonly interpreted.† But questionless, when the ambition of the mother and her two sons incited them to prefer this important petition, they addressed their petition to the entire nature of Christ, how exalted soever it might be, praying him to grant their request to the utmost extent of his power whether as God or

\* Father eternal, thine is to decree,  
Mine, both in Heaven and Earth, to do thy will  
Supreme. *Paradise Lost*, X. 68.

† See Poole’s *Synopsis* in loco. But Whitby explains it as signifying only a perfect conformity to His Father’s will, without implying any defect in His own power. He quotes in support of this interpretation *Luke* xxii. 29. *Rev.* iii. 21. *1 Cor.* xii. 5.

man ; v. 20. ‘ worshipping him, and desiring a certain thing of him,’ and v. 21. ‘ grant that they may sit.’ Christ also answers with reference to his whole nature—‘ it is not mine to give ;’ and lest for some reason, they might still fancy the gift belonged to him, he declares that it was altogether out of his province, and the exclusive privilege of the Father. If his reply was meant solely to refer to his mediatorial capacity, it would have bordered on sophistry, which God forbid that we should attribute to him ; as if he were capable of evading the request of Salome and her sons by the quibble which the logicians call *expositio prava* or *æquivoca*, when the respondent answers in a sense or with a mental intention different from the meaning of the questioner. The same must be said of other passages of the same kind, where Christ speaks of himself ; for after the hypostatical union of two natures in one person, it follows that whatever Christ says of himself, he says not as the possessor of either nature separately, but with reference to the whole of his character, and in his entire person, except where he himself makes a distinction. Those who divide this hypostatical union at their own discretion, strip the discourses and answers of Christ of all their sincerity ; they represent every thing as ambiguous and uncertain, as true and false at the same time ; it is not Christ that speaks, but some unknown substitute, sometimes one, and sometimes another ; so that the words of Horace may be justly applied to such disputants :

Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo ?\*

\* 1 Ep. i. 90. He employs the same allusion in *Paradise Lost* :

. . . . . call up unbound

In various shapes old Proteus from the sea. III. 603.

*Luke* xxiii. 34. 'Father forgive them,' &c. *John* xiv. 2. 'in my Father's house.' So also Christ himself says, *Matt.* xxvi. 39. 'O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.' Now it is manifest that those who have not the same will cannot have the same essence. It appears however from many passages, that the Father and Son have not, in a numerical sense, the same intelligence or will. *Matt.* xxiv. 36. 'no man knoweth.....but my Father only.' *Mark* xiii. 32. 'neither the Son, but the Father.' *John* vi. 38. 'I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.' Those therefore whose understanding and will are not numerically the same, cannot have the same essence. Nor is there any mode of evading this conclusion, inasmuch as the Son himself has thus expressed himself even with regard to his own divine nature. See also *Matt.* xxvi. 42. and v. 53. 'thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?' *Mark* xiv. 36. 'Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; take away this cup from me,' &c. *Luke* xxii. 29. 'I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me.' xxiii. 46. 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' *John* xii. 27. 'Father, save me from this hour.' If these prayers be uttered only in his human capacity, which is the common solution, why does he petition these things from the Father alone, instead of from himself, if he were God? Or rather, supposing him to be at once man and the supreme God, why does he ask at all for what was in



his own power?\*

What need was there for the union of the divine and human nature in one person, if he himself, being equal to the Father, gave back again into his hands every thing that he had received from him?

With regard to his supreme goodness. *Matt.* xix. 17. 'why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God.' We need not be surprised that Christ should refuse to accept the adulatory titles which were wont to be given to the Pharisees, and on this account should receive the young man with less kindness than usual; but when he says, 'there is none good but one, that is God,' it is evident that he did not choose to be considered essentially the same with that one God; for otherwise this would only have been disclaiming the credit of goodness in one character, for the purpose of assuming it in another. *John* vi. 32. 'my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven.' v. 65. 'no man can come unto me'—that is, to me, both God and man—'except it were given unto him of my Father.'

With regard to his supreme glory. *Matt.* xviii. 10. 'their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.' *John* xvii. 4. 'I have glorified thee on the earth.' Nay, it is to those who obey the Father that the promise of true wisdom is made even with regard to the knowing Christ himself, which is the very point now in question. *John* vii. 17, 18. 'if any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself: he that speaketh of him-

\* . . . . What he brings what needs he elsewhere seek?

*Paradise Regained*, IV. 325.

self seeketh his own glory ; but he that seeketh his glory that sent him, the same is true, and no unrighteousness is in him.' xv. 8. ' herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit ; so shall ye be my disciples.' *Matt.* vii. 21. ' not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father that is in heaven.' xii. 50. ' whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.'

Thus Christ assigns every attribute of the Deity to the Father alone. The apostles uniformly speak in a similar manner. *Rom.* xv. 5, 6. ' the God of patience and consolation grant you to be like minded one toward another, according to Christ Jesus.' xvi. 25—27. ' to him that is of power to stablish you.....according to the commandment of the everlasting God.....to God only wise, be glory through Jesus Christ—our Lord,' as the *Vetus Interpres* and some of the Greek manuscripts read it. *1 Tim.* vi. 13—16. ' I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who witnessed a good confession.....until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his times he shall show, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords : who alone hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen, nor can see ; to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.'

With regard to his works. See *Rom.* xvi. 25—27. *1 Tim.* vi. 13—16. as quoted above. *2 Cor.* i. 21, 22. ' now he which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God ; who hath also sealed

us.' Now the God which stablisheth us, is one God. *1 Pet. i. 2.* 'elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.' Even those works which regard the Son himself, or which were done in him. *Acts v. 30—33.* 'the God of our fathers raised up Jesus.....him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins.' *Gal. i. 1.* 'by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.' *Rom. x. 9.* 'if thou shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.' *1 Cor. vi. 14.* 'God hath both raised up the Lord, and will also raise us up by his own power.' *1 Thess. i. 10.* 'to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead.' *Heb. x. 5.* 'sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me.' *1 Pet. i. 21.* 'who by him do believe in God that raised him up from the dead.' So many are the texts wherein the Son is said to be raised up by the Father alone, which ought to have greater weight than the single passage in *St. John, ii. 19.* 'destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up'—where he spake briefly and enigmatically, without explaining his meaning to enemies who were unworthy of a fuller answer, on which account he thought it unnecessary to mention the power of the Father.

With regard to divine honours. For as the Son uniformly pays worship and reverence to the Father alone, so he teaches us to follow the same practice. *Matt. vi. 6.* 'pray to thy Father.' *v. 9.* 'after this manner therefore pray ye; Our Father, which art

in heaven,' &c. xviii. 19. 'as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which in heaven.' *Luke* xi. 1, 2. 'teach us to pray,' &c. 'and he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven.' *John* ii. 16. 'make not my Father's house an house of merchandise,' iv. 21—23. 'the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him.' xv. 16. 'that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name, he may give it you.' xvi. 23. 'in that day ye shall ask me nothing; .....whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.' *Rom.* i. 8, 9. 'first, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all..... for God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son,' &c. v. 11. 'we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ.' vii. 25. 'I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' xv. 6. 'that ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' *1 Cor.* i. 4. 'I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ.' *2 Cor.* i. 3. 'blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort.' *Gal.* i. 4, 5. 'who gave himself.....according to the will of God and our Father; to whom be glory for ever and ever.' *Eph.* i. 3. 'blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' &c. ii. 18. 'for through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.' iii. 14. 'for this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' v. 20, 21. 'now unto him

that is able to do exceeding abundantly, above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end.' *Philip*. i. 2, 3. 'grace be unto you and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. I thank my God upon every remembrance of you.' See also *Col.* i. 3. and iii. 17. 'whatsoever ye do.....do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him.' 1 *Thess.* i. 2, 3. 'we give thanks to God for you all, making mention of you in our prayers; remembering without ceasing your work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight of God and our Father.' v. 9, 10. 'to serve the living and true God; and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead.' See also 2 *Thess.* i. 2, 3. and 2 *Tim.* i. 3. 'I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers.' Now the forefathers of Paul served God the Father alone. See also *Philem.* 4, 5. and 1 *Pet.* i. 3. and iv. 10. 'as every man hath received the gift.....let him speak as the oracles of God.....as of the ability which God giveth, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ.' *James* i. 27. 'pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is this.' 1 *John*. ii. 1. 'we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.' 2 *John* 4—6. 'walking in truth, as we have received a commandment from the Father.....this is love, that we walk after his commandments.' *Rev.* i. 6. 'who made us kings and priests unto God and His Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever.' *Matt.* xxi. 12.

‘Jesus went into the temple of God.’ Here however my opponents quote the passage from *Malachi* iii. 1. ‘the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant.’ I answer, that in prophetic language these words signify the coming of the Lord into the flesh, or into the temple of the body, as it is expressed *John* ii. 21. For the Jews sought no one in the temple as an object of worship, except the Father ; and Christ himself in the same chapter has called the temple his Father’s house, and not his own. Nor were they seeking God, but ‘that Lord and messenger of the covenant ;’ that is, him who was sent from God as the mediator of the covenant ;—he it was who should come to his Church, which the prophets generally express figuratively under the image of the temple. So also where the terms God and man are put in opposition to each other, the Father stands exclusively for the one God. *James* iii. 9. ‘therewith bless we God, even the Father ; and therewith curse we men, which are made after the similitude of God.’ 1 *John* ii. 15, 16. ‘if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him ; for all that is in the world.....is not of the Father, but of the world.’

But it is strenuously urged on the other hand, that the Son is sometimes called God, and even Jehovah ; and that all the attributes of the Deity are assigned to him likewise in many passages both of the Old and New Testament, We arrive therefore at the other point which I originally undertook to prove ; and since it has been already shown from the analogy of scripture, that where the Father and

the Son are mentioned together, the name and attributes, and works of the Deity, as well as divine honours, are always assigned to the one and only God the Father, I will now demonstrate, that whenever the same properties are assigned to the Son, it is in such a manner as to make it easily intelligible that they ought all primarily and properly to be attributed to the Father alone.

It must be observed in the first place, that the name of God is not unfrequently ascribed, by the will and concession of God the Father, even to angels and men,—how much more then to the only begotten Son, the image of the Father. To angels. *Psal.* xcvii. 7, 9. ‘worship him all ye gods.... thou art high above all the earth; thou art exalted far above all gods,’ compared with *Heb.* i. 6. See also *Psal.* viii. 5. To judges. *Exod.* xxii. 28. ‘thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.’ See also, in the Hebrew, *Exod.* xxi. 6. xxii. 8, 9. *Psal.* lxxxii. 1, 6. ‘he judgeth among the gods. I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the most high.’ To the whole house of David, or to all the saints. *Zech.* xii. 8. ‘the house of David, shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them.’ The word אֱלֹהִים, though it be of the plural number, is also employed to signify a single angel, in case it should be thought that the use of the plural implies a plurality of persons in the Godhead: *Judges* xiii. 21. ‘then Manoah knew that he was an angel of Jehovah; and Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God.’ The same word is also applied to a single false God. *Exod.* xx. 3. ‘thou

shalt have no other gods before me.' To Dagon. *Judges* xvi. 23. To single idols. 1 *Kings* xi. 33. To Moses. *Exod.* iv. 16. and vii. 1. To God the Father alone. *Psal.* ii. 7. xlv. 7. and in many other places. Similar to this is the use of the word אֱלֹהִים, *the Lord*, in the plural number with a singular meaning; and with a plural affix according to the Hebrew mode. The word אֱלֹהִים also with the vowel *Patha* is frequently employed to signify one man, and with the vowel *Kamets* to signify one God, or one angel bearing the character of God. This peculiarity in the above words has been carefully noticed by the grammarians and lexicographers themselves, as well as in אֱלֹהִים used appellatively. The same thing may אֱלֹהִים. For even among the Greeks the word perhaps be remarked of the proper names אֱלֹהִים and *δεσπότης*, that is, Lord, is also used in the plural number in the sense of the singular, when extraordinary respect and honour are intended to be paid. Thus in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* of Euripides, *λίαν δεσπότηται πιστὸς εἶ*, (l. 304 Beck's edition) for *δεσπότην*, and again *εὐκλέες τοι δεσποτῶν θνήσκειν ὕπερ* (l. 312) for *δεσπότην*. It is also used in the *Rhesus* and the *Bacchæ* and in the same manner.\*

Attention must be paid to these circumstances, lest any one through ignorance of the language should erroneously suppose, that whenever the word *Elohim* is joined with a singular, it is intended to intimate a plurality of persons in unity of essence. But if there be any significance at all in this peculiarity, the word must imply as many Gods, as it does persons. Be-

*Rhes.* 264. *Bacch.* 1027. Edit. Beck.



sides, a plural adjective or a plural verb is sometimes joined to the word Elohim, which, if a construction of this kind could mean anything, would signify not a plurality of persons only, but also of natures. See in the Hebrew, *Deut.* v. 26. *Josh.* xxiv. 19. *Jer.* x. 10. *Gen.* xx. 13. Further, the singular אֱלֹהִים also sometimes occurs, *Deut.* xxxii. 18. and elsewhere. It is also attributed to Christ with the singular affix. *Psal.* cx. 1. לְאֵרֹנִי 'Jehovah said unto my Lord,' in which passage the Psalmist speaks of Christ (to whom the name of *Lord* is assigned as a title of the highest honour) both as distinct from Jehovah, and, if any reliance can be placed on the affix, as inferior to Jehovah. But when he addresses the Father, the affix is changed, and he says, v. 5. אֲרֹנִי 'the Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath.'

The name of God seems to be attributed to angels,\* because as heavenly messengers they bear the appearance of the divine glory and person, and even speak in the very words of the Deity. *Gen.* xxi. 17, 18. xxii. 11, 12, 15, 16. 'by myself have I sworn,

\* Milton is fond of attributing the name of *God* to angels, even in his Poem:

Deigns none to ease thy load, and taste thy sweet,  
Nor God, nor man? *Paradise Lost*, V. 59.

And again, in the same book,

Evil into the mind of God or man  
May come and go, so unprov'd. 117.

Where Newton properly remarks that *God* must signify *Angel*, for 'God cannot be tempted with evil,' as St. James says of the Supreme Being. So also in *Paradise Regained*, of the fallen angels,

..... led their march  
From Hell's deep vaulted den to dwell in light,  
Regents and potentates, and kings, yea Gods,  
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide. I. 115.

saith Jehovah.' For the expression which was so frequently in the mouth of the prophets, and which is elsewhere often omitted, is here inserted, that it may be understood that angels and messengers do not declare their own words, but the commands of God who sends them, even though the speaker seem to bear the name and character of the Déity himself. So believed the patriarch Jacob; *Gen.* xxxi. 11—13. 'the angel of God spake unto me saying....I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. I am the God of Bethel,' &c. xxxii. 30. 'I have seen God face to face;' compared with *Hos.* xii. 4, 5. 'he had power with God, yea, he had power over the angel.' *Exod.* xxiv. 10, 11. 'they saw the God of Israel....also they saw God.' *Deut.* iv. 33. 'did ever people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live?' Yet it is said, *Exod.* xxxiii. 20. 'there shall no man see me, and live.' *John* i. 18. 'no man hath seen God at any time.' v. 37. 'ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape.' *1 Tim.* vi. 16. 'dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen, nor can see.' It follows therefore that whoever was heard or seen, it was not God; not even where mention is made of God, nay even of Jehovah himself, and of the angels in the same sentence. *Gen.* xxviii. 12, 13. 'behold the angels of God.....and behold, Jehovah stood above them.' *1 Kings* xxii. 19. 'I saw Jehovah sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him.' *Isai.* vi. 1, 2. 'I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne.....above it stood the seraphim.' I repeat, it was not God himself that he saw, but perhaps one of the an-

gels clothed in some modification of the divine glory, or the Son of God himself, the image of the glory of his Father, as John understands the vision, xii. 41. 'these things said Esaias, when he saw his glory.' For if he had been of the same essence, he could no more have been seen or heard than the Father himself, as will be more fully shown hereafter. Hence even the holiest of men were troubled in mind when they had seen an angel, as if they had seen God himself. *Gen.* xxxii. 30. 'I have seen God.' *Judges* vi. 22. 'when Gideon perceived that he was an angel of Jehovah, Gideon said, Alas, O Lord Jehovah, for because I have seen an angel of Jehovah face to face.' See also xiii. 21, 22. as before.

The name of God is ascribed to judges, because they occupy the place of God to a certain degree in the administration of judgement. The Son, who was entitled to the name of God both in the capacity of a messenger and of a judge, and indeed in virtue of a much better right,\* did not think it foreign to his character, when the Jews accused him of blasphemy because he made himself God, to allege in his own defence the very reason which has been advanced. *John* x. 34—36. 'Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods? If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of

\*Be not so sore offended, Son of God,  
Though Sons of God both angels are and men,  
If I, to try whether in higher sort  
Than these thou bear'st that title.

*Paradise Regained*, IV. 196.

God?'—especially when God himself had called the judges, sons of the Most High, as has been stated before. Hence 1 *Cor.* viii. 4, 5. 'for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many,) but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.'

Even the principal texts themselves which are brought forward to prove the divinity of the Son, if carefully weighed and considered, are sufficient to show that the Son is God in the manner which has been explained. *John* i. 1. 'in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.' It is not said, from everlasting, but 'in the beginning.' *The Word*,—therefore the Word was audible. But God, as he cannot be seen, so neither can he be heard; *John* v. 37. The Word therefore is not of the same essence with God. 'The Word was with God, and was God,'—namely, because he was with God, that is, in the bosom of the Father, as it is expressed v. 18. Does it follow therefore that he is essentially one with him with whom he was? It no more follows, than that the disciple 'who was lying on Jesus' breast,' *John* xiii. 23. was essentially one with Christ. Reason rejects the doctrine; Scripture nowhere asserts it; let us therefore abandon human devices, and follow the evangelist himself; who is his own interpreter. *Rev.* xix. 13. 'his name is called The Word of God'—that is, of the one God: he himself is a distinct person. If therefore he be a distinct person, he is distinct from God, who is unity. How then is he himself also God?

By the same right as he enjoys the title of the Word, or of the only begotten Son, namely, by the will of the one God. This seems to be the reason why it is repeated in the second verse—‘the same was in the beginning with God ;’ which enforces what the apostle wished we should principally observe, not that he was in the beginning God, but in the beginning with God ; that he might show him to be God only by proximity and love ; not in essence ; which doctrine is consistent with the subsequent explanation of the evangelist in numberless passages of his gospel.

Another passage is the speech of Thomas, *John* xx. 28. ‘my Lord and my God.’ He must have an immoderate share of credulity who attempts to elicit a new confession of faith, unknown to the rest of the disciples, from this abrupt exclamation of the apostle, who invokes in his surprize not only Christ his own Lord, but the God of his ancestors, namely, God the Father ;—as if he had said, Lord ! what do I see—what do I hear—what do I handle with my hands ? He whom Thomas is supposed to call God in this passage, had acknowledged respecting himself not long before, v. 17. ‘I ascend unto my God and your God.’ Now the God of God cannot be essentially one with him whose God he is. On whose word therefore can we ground our faith with most security ; on that of Christ, whose doctrine is clear, or of Thomas, a new disciple, first incredulous, then suddenly breaking out into an abrupt exclamation in an ecstasy of wonder, if indeed he really called Christ his God ? For having reached out his fingers, he called the man whom he touched, as if unconscious of what he was saying, by the name of God. Neither is

it credible that he should have so quickly understood the hypostatic union of that person whose resurrection he had just before disbelieved. Accordingly the faith of Peter is commended—‘blessed art thou, Simon’—for having only said—‘thou art the Son of the living God,’ *Matt.* xvi. 16, 17. The faith of Thomas, although as it is commonly explained, it asserts the divinity of Christ in a much more remarkable manner, is so far from being praised, that it is undervalued, and almost reproved in the next verse—‘Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.’ And yet, though the slowness of his belief may have deserved blame, the testimony borne by him to Christ as God, which if the common interpretation be received as true, is clearer than occurs in any other passage, would undoubtedly have met with some commendation; whereas it obtains none whatever. Hence there is nothing to invalidate that interpretation of the passage which has been already suggested, referring the words—*my Lord*—to Christ,—*my God*—to God the Father, who had just testified that Christ was his Son, by raising him up from the dead in so wonderful a manner.

So too *Heb.* i. 8. ‘unto the Son’—or ‘of the Son—he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.’ But in the next verse it follows, ‘thou hast loved righteousness,’ &c. ‘therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows,’ where almost every word indicates the sense in which Christ is here termed God; and the words of Jehovah put into the mouth of the bridal virgins, *Psal.* xlv. might have been more prop-

erly quoted by this writer for any other purpose than to prove that the Son is co-equal with the Father, since they are originally applied to Solomon, to whom, as properly as to Christ, the title of God might have been given on account of his kingly power, conformably to the language of Scripture.

These three passages are the most distinct of all that are brought forward ; for the text in *Matt.* i. 23. 'they shall call' (for so the great majority of the Greek manuscripts read it\*) 'his name Immanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us,' does not prove that he whom they were so to call should necessarily be God, but only a messenger from God, according to the song of Zacharias, *Luke* i. 68, 69. 'blessed be the Lord God of Israel ; for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up an horn of salvation for us,' &c. Nor can any thing certain be inferred from *Acts* xvi. 31, 34. 'believe on the Lord Jesus Christ,—and he rejoiced, believing in God with all his house.' For it does not follow from hence that Christ is God, since the apostles have never distinctly pointed out Christ as the ultimate object of faith ; but these are merely the words of the historian, expressing that briefly which there can be no doubt that the apostles inculcated in a more detailed manner,—faith in God the Father through Christ. Nor is the passage in *Acts* xx. 28. more decisive,— 'the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood ;' that is, with his own Son, as it is elsewhere expressed, for God properly speaking has

\* καλίσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. 'Καλίσουσ Steph. β. Cant. Euseb. sed exemplaria MSS. universim, Vulg. Hieron. Epiphan. Chrysost. Theophylact. Origen. Iren. Just. Martyr. (qui etiam habet καλίσιντι) receptam lectionem retinent.' Mill. in loc.

no blood; and no usage is more common than the substitution of the figurative term blood for offspring. But the Syriac version reads, not 'the Church of God,' but 'the Church of Christ;' and in our own recent translation it is, 'the Church of the Lord.'\* Nor can any certain dependence be placed on the authority of the Greek manuscripts, five of which read τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ,† according to Beza, who suspects that the words τοῦ Κυρίου have crept in from the margin, though it is more natural to suppose the words καὶ Θεοῦ to have crept in, on account of their being an addition to the former. The same must be said respecting *Rom. ix. 5.* 'who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.' For in the first place, Hilary and Cyprian do not read the word *God* in this passage, nor do some of the other Fathers, if we may believe the

\* In the list of various readings given in Bp. Wilson's Bible, it is stated that the reading of *the Lord* exists in one of the English Bibles printed by Whitchurch, which is probably the 'recent translation' alluded to by Milton. This printer published many editions of the Bible, separately or in conjunction with Grafton, about the middle of the sixteenth century. The library at St. Paul's contains ten editions published in different years between 1530 and 1560, but the reading alluded to appears in none of them. The libraries of the British Museum, Lambeth, and Canterbury (which latter collection contains about fifty ancient English Bibles and Testaments presented by the late Dr. Coombe), the Bodleian library at Oxford, the University library, and the libraries of Trinity and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, have also been searched without success for a copy of the edition in question.

† This is the reading of the Codex Passionæsi, the date of which, however, is not earlier than the eighth or ninth century, and of sixty-three other MSS. none of which are among the most correct or authoritative. See Horne's *Introduction*, &c. Vol. II. 352, for an analysis of what Griesbach, Hale, Michaelis and others have written on the verse. The sum of the whole is, that *ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *Church of God*, the received reading, 'is better supported than any of the other readings, and consequently we may conclude that it was the identical expression uttered by Paul, and recorded by Luke.'



authority of Erasmus; who has also shown that the difference of punctuation may raise a doubt with regard to the true meaning of the passage, namely, whether the clause in question should not rather be understood of the Father than of the Son.\* But waiving these objections, and supposing that the words are spoken of the Son; they have nothing to do with his essence, but only intimate that divine honour is communicated to the Son by the Father, and particularly that he is called God; which has been already fully shown by other arguments. But, they rejoin, the same words which were spoken of the Father, *Rom. i. 25.* ‘more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen,’ are here repeated of the Son; therefore the Son is equal to the Father. If there be any force in this reasoning, it will rather prove that the Son is greater than the Father; for according to the ninth chapter he is ‘over all,’ which however, they remind us, ought to be understood in the same sense as *John iii. 31, 32.* ‘he that cometh from above, is above all; he that cometh from heaven is above all.’ In these words even the divine nature is clearly implied, and yet, ‘what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth,’ which language affirms that he came not of himself, but was sent from the Father, and was obedient to him. It will be answered, that it is only his mediatorial character which is intended.

\* ‘Sanctus Cyprianus adversus Judæos libro secundo, capite quinto, adduxit hunc locum, omissa Dei mentione. Itidem Hilarius enarrans Psalmum cxxii. quod incuria librariorum esse omissum videri potest.’ *Erasmi Annotationes ad Rom. ix. 5.* See also his treatise entitled *Responsio de Filii divinitate.* Tom. IX. p. 849. Macknight in his notes on the passage of the Romans, answers Erasmus with regard to both the points which Milton mentions.

But he never could have become a mediator, nor could he have been sent from God, or have been obedient to him, unless he had been inferior to God and the Father as to his nature. Therefore also after he shall have laid aside his functions as mediator, whatever may be his greatness, or whatever it may previously have been, he must be subject to God and the Father. Hence he is to be accounted above all, with this reservation, that he is always to be excepted 'who did put all things under him,' 1 Cor. xv. 27. and who consequently is above him under whom he has put all things. If lastly he be termed *blessed*, it must be observed that he received blessing as well as divine honour, not only as God, but even as man. *Rev.* v. 12. 'worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches and wisdom and strength and honour and glory and blessing;' and hence, v. 13. 'blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.'

There is a still greater doubt respecting the reading in 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. 'God was manifest in the flesh.' Here again Erasmus asserts that neither Ambrose nor the *Vetus Interpres* read the word God in this verse, and that it does not appear in a considerable number of the early copies.\* However this may be, it will be clear when the context is duly examined, that the whole passage must be understood of God the Father

\* 'Ambrosius et Vulgatus Interpres legerunt pro Θεός, ὁ, id est, quod.' Erasmus ad 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. The Clermont MS. the Vulgate, and some other versions read ὁ, *which*. The Colbertine MS. reads ὅς, *who*. All the other Greek MSS. have Θεός. For a defence of the latter reading see Mill and Macknight in loco, and Pearson *On the Creed*. See also Waterland, Works, II. 158.

in conjunction with the Son. For it is not Christ who is 'the great mystery of godliness,' but God the Father in Christ, as appears from *Col.* ii. 2. 'the mystery of God and of the Father, and of Christ.' *2 Cor.* v. 18, 19. 'all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ....to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.' Why therefore should God the Father not be in Christ through the medium of all those offices of reconciliation which the apostle enumerates in this passage of *Timothy*? 'God was manifest in the flesh'—namely in the Son, his own image; in any other way he is invisible: nor did Christ come to manifest himself, but his Father, *John* xiv. 8, 9. 'Justified in the Spirit'—and who should be thereby justified, if not the Father? 'Seen of angels'—inasmuch as they desired to look into this mystery, *1 Pet.* i. 12. 'Preached unto the Gentiles'—that is, the Father in Christ. 'Believed on in the world'—and to whom is faith so applicable, as to the Father through Christ? 'Received up into glory'—namely, he who was in the Son from the beginning, after reconciliation had been made, returned with the Son into glory, or was received into that supreme glory which he had obtained in the Son. But there is no need of discussing this text at greater length: those who are determined to defend at all events the received opinion, according to which these several propositions are predicated not of the Father but of the Son alone, when they are in fact applicable both to the one and the other, though on different grounds, may easily establish that the Son is God, a truth which I am far

from denying—but they will in vain attempt to prove from this passage that he is the supreme God, and one with the Father.

The next passage is *Tit.* ii. 13. ‘the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.’ Here also the glory of God the Father may be intended, with which Christ is to be invested on his second advent, *Matt.* xvi. 27. as Ambrose understands the passage from the analogy of Scripture. For the whole force of the proof depends upon the definitive article, which may be inserted or omitted before the two nouns in the Greek without affecting the sense ; or the article prefixed to one may be common to both.\* Besides, in other languages, where the article is not used, the words may be understood to apply indifferently either to one or two persons ; and nearly the same words are employed without the article in reference to two persons, *Philipp.* i. 2. and *Philem.* 3. except that in the latter passages the word *Father* is substituted for *great*. So also *2 Pet.* i. 1. ‘through the righteousness of [our] God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.’ Here the repetition of the pronoun *ἡμῶν* without the article, as it is read by some of the Greek manuscripts, shows that two distinct persons are spoken of. And surely what is proposed to us as an object of belief, especially in a matter involving a primary article of faith, ought not to be an inference forced and extorted from passages relating to an entirely different subject, in which the readings are sometimes various, and the

\* On the importance of the Greek article, see Mr. Granville Sharp’s *Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article, &c.* ; Dr. Wordsworth’s *Six Letters to Mr. Sharp* ; Mr. Boyd’s *Supplementary Researches* ; and Bp. Middleton’s *Doctrine of the Greek Article*.

sense doubtful,—nor hunted out by careful research from among articles and particles,—nor elicited by dint of ingenuity, like the answers of an oracle, from sentences of dark or equivocal meaning—but should be susceptible of abundant proof from the clearest sources. For it is in this that the superiority of the gospel to the law consists; this, and this alone, is consistent with its open simplicity; this is that true light and clearness which we had been taught to expect would be its characteristic. Lastly, he who calls God *great*, does not necessarily call him supreme, or essentially one with the Father; nor on the other hand does he thereby deny that Christ is *the great God*, in the sense in which he has been above proved to be such.

Another passage which is also produced is 1 *John* iii. 16. ‘hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us.’ Here however the Syriac version reads *illius* instead of *Dei*, and it remains to be seen whether other manuscripts do the same.\* The pronoun *he*, *ἐκεῖνος*, seems not to be referred to God, but to the Son of God, as may be concluded from a comparison of the former chapters of this epistle, and the first, second, fifth and eighth verses of the chapter before us, as well as from *Rom.* v. 8. ‘God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.’ The love of God, therefore, is the love of the Father, whereby he so loved the world, that ‘he purchased it with his own blood,’ *Acts* xx. 28. and for it ‘laid down his life,’ that is, the life of his only begotten Son, as it may be explained from *John* iii. 16. and by analogy from many other passages. Nor is it ex-

\* The Ethiopic version reads *abroū*. Mill omits *Θεοῦ*.

traordinary that by the phrase, 'his life,' should be understood the life of his beloved Son, since we are ourselves in the habit of calling any much-loved friend by the title of life, or part of our life, as a term of endearment in familiar discourse.

But the passage which is considered most important of all, is 1 *John* v. part of the twentieth verse—for if the whole be taken, it will not prove what it is adduced to support. 'We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, (even) in his Son Jesus Christ: this is the true God, and eternal life.' For 'we are in him that is true in his Son,'—that is, so far as we are in the Son of him that is true:—'this is the true God;' namely, he who was just before called 'him that was true,' the word *God* being omitted in the one clause, and subjoined in the other. For he it is that is 'he that is true' (whom that we might know, 'we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding') not he who is called 'the Son of him that is true,' though that be the nearest antecedent,—for common sense itself requires that the article *this* should be referred to 'him that is true,' (to whom the subject of the context principally relates,) not to 'the Son of him that is true.'\* Examples of a similar construction are not wanting. See *Acts* iv. 10, 11. and x. 16. 2 *Thess.* ii. 8, 9. 2 *John* 7. Compare also *John* xvii. 3. with which passage the verse in question seems to corres-

\* This is the interpretation of Benson, Wetstein, Schleusner, Mac-knight, &c. In support of the other construction, see Beza, Whitby, and particularly Waterland, Works, Vol. II. p. 123.

pond exactly in sense, the position of the words alone being changed. But it will be objected, that according to some of the texts quoted before, Christ is God ; now if the Father be the only true God, Christ is not the true God ; but if he be not the true God, he must be a false God. I answer, that the conclusion is too hastily drawn ; for it may be that he is not ‘ he that is true,’ either because he is only the image of him that is true, or because he uniformly declares himself to be inferior to him that is true. We are not obliged to say of Christ what the Scriptures do not say. The Scriptures call him *God*, but not ‘ him that is the true God ;’ why are we not at liberty to acquiesce in the same distinction ? At all events *he* is not to be called a false God, to whom, as to his beloved Son, he that is the true God has communicated his divine power and glory.

They also adduce *Philipp.* ii. 6. ‘ who being in the form of God ’—but this no more proves him to be God than the phrase which follows—‘ took upon him the form of a servant ’—proves that he was really a servant, as the sacred writers nowhere use the word *form* for actual being. But if it be contended that the form of God is here taken in a philosophical sense for the essential form, the consequence cannot be avoided, that when Christ laid aside the form, he laid aside also the substance and the efficiency of God ; a doctrine against which they protest, and with justice. To be in ‘ the form of God,’ therefore, seems to be synonymous with being in the image of God ; which is often predicated of Christ, even as man, is also said, though in a much lower sense, to be the image of God, and to be in the image of God, that

is, by creation. More will be added respecting this passage hereafter.

The last passage that is quoted is from the epistle of *Jude*, v. 4. 'denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.' Who will not agree that this is too verbose a mode of description, if all these words are intended to apply to one person? or who would not rather conclude, on a comparison of many other passages which tend to confirm the same opinion, that they were spoken of two persons, namely, the Father the only God, and our Lord Jesus Christ? Those, however, who are accustomed to discover some extraordinary force in the use of the article, contend that both names must refer to the same person, because the article is prefixed in the Greek to the first of them only, which is done to avoid weakening the structure of the sentence. If the force of the articles is so great, I do not see how other languages can dispense with them.

The passages quoted in the New Testament from the Old will have still less weight, if they be produced to prove anything more than what the writer who quoted them intended. Of this class are, *Psal.* lxxviii. 17—19. 'the chariots of God are twenty thousand,' &c. .... 'the Lord is among them,' &c. 'thou hast ascended on high.....thou hast received gifts for men.' Here (to say nothing of several ellipses, which the interpreters are bold enough to fill up in various ways, as they think proper) mention is made of two persons, *God* and *the Lord*, which is in contradiction to the opinions of those who attempt to elicit a testimony to the supreme divinity of Christ, by comparing this passage with *Eph.* iv. 5—8. Such a doctrine was



never intended by the apostle, who argues very differently in the ninth verse—‘now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth?’—from which the only mean to show that the Lord Christ, who had lately died, and was now received into heaven, gave gifts unto men which he had received from the Father.

It is singular, however, that those who maintain the Father and the Son to be one in essence, should revert from the gospel to the times of the law, as if they would make a fruitless attempt to illustrate light by darkness. They say that the Son is not only called God, but also Jehovah, as appears from a comparison of several passages in both testaments. Now Jehovah is the one supreme God ; therefore the Son and the Father are one in essence. It will be easy to expose the weakness of such an argument as this, which is derived from the ascription of the name of Jehovah to the Son. For the name of Jehovah is conceded even to the angels, in the same sense as it has been already shown that the name of God is applied to them, namely, when they represent the divine presence and person, and utter the very words of Jehovah. *Gen.* xvi. 7. ‘the angel of Jehovah found her,’ compared with v. 10. ‘the angel of Jehovah said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly,’ and v. 13. ‘she called the name of Jehovah who spake unto her—.’ xviii. 13. ‘and Jehovah said,’ &c. whereas it appears that the three men whom Abraham entertained were angels. *Gen.* xix. 1. ‘there came two angels.’ v. 13. ‘and Jehovah hath sent us’—compared with v. 18, 21, 24. ‘Oh, not so, יְהוָה: and he said unto him, See I have ac-

cepted thee.....then Jehovah rained.....from Jehovah out of heaven.' *Gen.* xxi. 17. 'the angel of God called to Hagar out of heaven,' &c.....'God hath heard'—compared with v. 18. 'I will make him a great nation.' So *Exod.* iii. 2, 4. 'the angel of Jehovah.....when Jehovah saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him'—compared with *Acts.* vii. 30. 'there appeared to him an angel of the Lord in a flame of fire in a bush.' If that angel had been Christ or the supreme God, it is natural to suppose that Stephen would have declared it openly, especially on such an occasion, where it might have tended to strengthen the faith of the other believers, and strike his judges with alarm. In *Exod.* xx. when the law was delivered, no mention is made of any one who gave it to Moses, except Jehovah, and yet *Acts* vii. 38. the same Stephen says, 'this is he that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sinai;' and verse 53. he declares that 'the law was received by the disposition of angels.' *Gal.* iii. 19. 'it was ordained by angels.' *Heb.* ii. 2. 'if the word spoken by angels was steadfast,' &c. Therefore what is said in Exodus to have been spoken by Jehovah, was not spoken by himself personally, but by angels in the name of Jehovah. Nor is this extraordinary, for it does not seem to have been suitable that Christ who was the minister of the gospel should also be the minister of the law: 'by how much more also he is the mediator of a better covenant.' *Heb.* viii. 6. But it would indeed have been wonderful if Christ had actually appeared as the mediator of the law, and none of the apostles had ever intimated it.

Nay, the contrary seems to be asserted *Heb.* i. 1. 'God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.' Again it is said, *Num.* xxii, 22. 'God's anger was kindled....and the angel of Jehovah stood in the way for an adversary unto him.' v. 31. 'then Jehovah opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of Jehovah.' Afterwards the same angel speaks as if he were Jehovah himself, v. 32. 'behold I went out to withstand thee, because thy way is perverse before me : ' and Balaam says, v. 34. 'if it displease thee—;' to which the angel answers—'only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak.' v. 35. compared with v. 20. and with chap. xxiii. 8, 20. *Josh.* v. 14. 'as captain of the host of Jehovah am I come,' compared with vi. 2. 'Jehovah said unto Joshua.' *Judg.* vi. 11, 12. 'an angel of Jehovah.....the angel of Jehovah,'—compared with v. 14. 'Jehovah looked upon him, and said—.' Again, v. 20, 21. 'the angel of God.....the angel of Jehovah ; ' and v. 22. 'Gideon perceived that he was an angel of Jehovah'—compared with v. 23. 'Jehovah said unto him'—although the angel here, as in other instances, personated the character of Jehovah : —v. 14. 'have not I sent thee ? ' v. 16. 'surely I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite the Midianites : ' and Gideon himself addresses him as Jehovah, v. 17. 'show me a sign that thou talkest with me.' 1 *Chron.* xxi. 15. 'God sent an angel—.' v. 16, 17. 'and David saw the angel of Jehovah.....and fell upon his face, and said unto God—.' v. 18, 19. 'then the angel of Jehovah com-

manded Gad to say unto David.....and David went up at the saying of Gad, which he spake in the name of Jehovah.'

But it may be urged, that the name of Jehovah is sometimes assigned to two persons in the same sentence. *Gen.* xix. 24. 'Jehovah rained.....from Jehovah out of heaven.' 1 *Sam.* iii. 21. 'Jehovah revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of Jehovah.' *Jer.* xxxiv. 12. 'the word of Jehovah came to Jeremiah from Jehovah, saying—.' *Hos.* i. 7. 'I will save them by Jehovah their God.' *Zech.* iii. 1—3. 'standing before the angel....and Jehovah said unto Satan, Jehovah rebuke thee'—and again, 'before the angel.' I answer, that in these passages either one of the persons is an angel, according to that usage of the word which has been already explained; or it is to be considered as a peculiar form of speaking, in which, for the sake of emphasis, the name of Jehovah is repeated, though with reference to the same person; 'for Jehovah the God of Israel is one Jehovah.' If in such texts as these both persons are to be understood properly and in their own nature as Jehovah, there is no longer one Jehovah, but two; whence it follows that the repetition of the name can only have been employed for the purpose of giving additional force to the sentence. A similar form of speech occurs *Gen.* ix. 16. 'I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature: and 1 *Cor.* i. 7, 8. 'waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.' 1 *Thess.* iii. 12, 13. 'the Lord make you to increase,' &c. 'to the end he may stablish your hearts.....before God, even our Father.

at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Here whether it be 'God, even our Father,' or 'our Lord Jesus,' who in the former verse is called *Lord*, in either case there is the same redundancy. If the Jews had understood the passages quoted above, and others of the same kind, as implying that there were two persons, both of whom were Jehovah, and both of whom had an equal right to the appellation, there can be no doubt that, seeing the doctrine so frequently enforced by the prophets, they would have adopted the same belief which now prevails among us, or would at least have laboured under considerable scruples on the subject: whereas I suppose no one in his senses will venture to affirm that the Jewish Church ever so understood the passages in question, or believed that there were two persons, each of whom was Jehovah, and had an equal right to assume the title. It would seem, therefore, that they interpreted them in the manner above mentioned. Thus in allusion to a human being, 1 *Kings* viii. 1. 'then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel....unto king Solomon in Jerusalem.' No one is so absurd as to suppose that the name of Solomon is here applied to two persons in the same sentence. It is evident, therefore, both from the declaration of the sacred writer himself, and from the belief of those very persons to whom the angels appeared, that the name of Jehovah was attributed to an angel; and not to an angel only, but also to the whole Church, *Jer.* xxxiii. 16.

But as Placæus of Saumur thinks it incredible that an angel should bear the name of Jehovah, and that the dignity of the supreme Deity should be degraded

by being personated, as it were, on a stage, I will produce a passage in which God himself declares that his name is in an angel. *Exod.* xxiii. 20, 21. 'behold, I send an angel before thee, to keep thee in the way,' &c. 'beware of him, and obey his voice; provoke him not, for he will not pardon your transgressions; for my name is in him.' The angel who from that time forward addressed the Israelites, and whose voice they were commanded to hear, was always called Jehovah, though the appellation did not properly belong to him. To this they reply, that he was really Jehovah, for that angel was Christ; *1 Cor.* x. 9. 'neither let us tempt Christ,' &c. I answer, that it is of no importance to the present question, whether it were Christ or not; the subject of inquiry now is, whether the children of Israel understood that angel to be really Jehovah? If they did so understand, it follows that they must have conceived either that there were two Jehovahs, or that Jehovah and the angel were one in essence; which no rational person will affirm to have been their belief. But even if such an assertion were advanced, it would be refuted by chap. xxxiii. 2, 3, 5. 'I will send an angel before thee....for I will not go up in the midst of thee....lest I consume thee in the way. And when the people heard these evil tidings, they mourned.' If the people had believed that Jehovah and that angel were one in essence, equal in divinity and glory, why did they mourn, and desire that Jehovah should go up before them, notwithstanding his anger, rather than the angel? who, if he had indeed been Christ, would have acted as a mediator and peace-maker. If, on the contrary, they did not consider the angel as Je-

hovah, they must necessarily have understood that he bore the name of Jehovah in the sense in which I suppose him to have borne it, wherein there is nothing either absurd or theatrical. Being at length prevailed upon to go up with them in person, he grants thus much only, v. 14.—‘my presence shall go with thee’—which can imply nothing else than a representation of his name and glory in the person of some angel. But whoever this was, whether Christ, or some angel different from the preceding, the very words of Jehovah himself show that he was neither one with Jehovah, nor co-equal, for the Israelites are commanded to hear his voice, not on the authority of his own name, but because the name of Jehovah was in him. If on the other hand it is contended that the angel was Christ, this proves no more than that Christ was an angel, according to their interpretation of *Gen.* xlviii. 16. ‘the angel which redeemed me from all evil;’ and *Isai.* lxiii. 9. ‘the angel of his presence saved them’—that is, he who represented his presence or glory, and bore his character; an angel, as they say, by office, but Jehovah by nature. But to whose satisfaction will they be able to prove this? He is called indeed, *Mal.* iii. 1. ‘the messenger of the covenant:’ see also *Exod.* xxiii. 20, 21. compared with 1 *Cor.* x. 9. as before. But it does not therefore follow, that whenever an angel is sent from heaven, that angel is to be considered as Christ; nor where Christ is sent, that he is to be considered as one God with the Father. Besides that the obscurity of the law and the prophets ought not to be brought forward to refute the light of the gospel, but on the contrary the light of the gospel ought to be employed

to illustrate the obscurity necessarily arising from the figurative language of the prophets. However this may be, Moses says, prophesying of Christ, *Deut.* xviii. 15. 'Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me ; unto him ye shall hearken.' It will be answered, that he here predicts the human nature of Christ. I reply that in the following verse he plainly takes away from Christ that divine nature which it is wished to make co-essential with the Father—' according to all that thou desiredst of Jehovah thy God in Horeb....saying, Let me not hear again the voice of Jehovah my God,' &c. In hearing Christ therefore, as Moses himself predicts and testifies, they were not to hear the God Jehovah, nor were they to consider Christ as Jehovah.

The style of the prophetical book of Revelations, as respects this subject, must be regarded in the same light. Chap. i. 1, 8, 11. 'he sent and signified it by his angel.' Afterwards this angel (who is described nearly in the same words as the angel, *Dan.* x. 5, &c.) says, 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come.' v. 13. 'like unto the Son of man.' v. 17. 'I am the first and the last.' ii. 7, &c. 'what the Spirit saith unto the churches.' xxii. 6. 'the Lord God sent his angel.' v. 8. 'before the feet of the angel which showed me these things.' v. 9. 'see thou do it not ; for I am thy fellow-servant,' &c. Again, the same angel says, v. 12. 'behold I come quickly, and my reward is with me,' &c. and again, v. 13. 'I am Alpha and Omega,' &c. and v. 14. 'blessed are they that do his com-



mandments ;' and v. 16. 'I Jesus have sent my angel,' &c. These passages so perplexed Beza,\* that he was compelled to reconcile the imaginary difficulty by supposing that the order of a few verses in the last chapter had been confused and transposed by some Arian, (which he attributed to the circumstance of the book having been acknowledged as canonical by the Church at a comparatively late period, and therefore less carefully preserved,) whence he thought it necessary to restore them to what he considered their proper order. This supposition would have been unnecessary, had he remarked, what may be uniformly observed throughout the Old Testament, that angels are accustomed to assume the name and person, and the very words of God and Jehovah, as their own ; and that occasionally an angel represents the person and the very words of God, without taking the name either of Jehovah or God, but only in the character of an angel, or even of a man, as Junius

\* 'Dicam quid mihi videatur, ita ut quod sentio relinquam ecclesiæ atque adeo piis omnibus dijudicandum. Existimo hunc librum, eo negligentius habitum, quod non statim ab omnibus pro apostolico scripto censeretur, fuisse ab Ariano quopiam depravatum, qui Christum Deum non esse, nec proinde adorandum, sic confirmare vellet : idque exortis jam Anomœis post ipsius Arii tempora, alioqui hunc locum minime prætermisuris. Transpositos igitur fuisse arbitror hos versiculos, nempe 12 et 13,' &c. According to the order subsequently proposed by Beza, the verses would stand thus—14, 15, 16, 13, 12, 17, &c. Eusebius classes the Apocalypse among the *ἀποκρυφίσματα*, or disputed books, and it is omitted in the catalogues of canonical books formed by Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem (A. D. 340), and by the council of Laodicea (A. D. 364), and in one or two other early catalogues of the Scriptures ; but this omission was probably not owing to any suspicion concerning its authenticity or genuineness, but because its obscurity and mysteriousness were thought to render it less fit to be read publicly and generally. Horne's *Introduction*, &c. IV. 497. Bp. Tomline's *Elements of Christian Theology*, Vol. I. 500.

himself acknowledges, *Judges* ii. 1, &c.\* But according to divines the name of Jehovah signifies two things, either the nature of God, or the completion of his word and promises. If it signify the nature, and therefore the person of God, why should not he who is invested with his person and presence, be also invested with the name which represents them? If it signify the completion of his word and promises, why should not he, to whom words suitable to God alone are so frequently attributed, be permitted also to assume the name of Jehovah, whereby the completion of these words and promises is represented? Or if that name be so acceptable to God, that he has always chosen to consider it as sacred and peculiar to himself alone, why has he uniformly disused it in the New Testament, which contains the most important fulfilment of his prophecies; retaining only the name of the Lord, which had always been common to him with angels and men? If, lastly, any name whatever can be so pleasing to God, why has he exhibited himself to us in the gospel without any proper name at all?

They urge, however, that Christ himself is sometimes called Jehovah in his own name and person; as in *Isai.* viii. 13, 14. 'sanctify Jehovah of hosts himself, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread: and he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel,' &c. compared with *1 Pet.* ii. 7. 'the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling,' &c. I answer, that it appears on a comparison of the thirteenth with the eleventh

\* 'Hominem, non angelum fuisse apparet, quod locus unde venerit exprimitur, neque disparuisse legitur, ut de aliis angelis narratur. Sic propheta angelus Dei vocatur Hagg. i. 3.' Junius in loc.

verse,—‘for Jehovah spake thus to me,’ &c.—that these are not the words of Christ exhorting the Israelites to sanctify and fear himself, whom they had not yet known, but of the Father threatening, as in other places, that he would be ‘for a stone of stumbling,’ &c. ‘to both the houses of Israel,’ that is, to the Israelites, and especially to those of that age. But supposing the words to refer to Christ, it is not unusual among the prophets for God the Father to declare that he would work himself, what afterwards under the gospel he wrought by means of his Son. Hence Peter says—‘the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling.’ By whom made, except by the Father? And in the third chapter, a quotation of part of the same passage of Isaiah clearly proves that the Father was speaking of himself; v. 15. ‘but sanctify the Lord God’—under which name no one will assert that Christ is intended. Again, they quote *Zech.* xi. 13. ‘Jehovah said unto me, Cast it unto the potter; a goodly price that I was prized at of them.’ That this relates to Christ I do not deny; only it must be remembered, that this is not his own name, but that the name of Jehovah is in him, *Exod.* xxiii. 21. as will presently appear more plainly. At the same time there is no reason why the words should not be understood of the Father speaking in his own name,\* who would consider the offences which the Jews should commit

\*Milton attributes similar language to the Almighty, when he represents him as giving his great command concerning the Messiah in heaven:

Him who disobeys,  
 Me disobeys, breaks union, and that day  
 Cast out from God—, &c. *Paradise Lost*, V. 611.

against his Son, as offences against himself; in the same sense as the Son declares that whatever is done to those who believed in him, is done to himself. *Matt.* xxv. 35, 40. 'I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat,' &c. 'inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' An instance of the same kind occurs *Acts* ix. 4, 5. 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' The same answer must be given respecting *Zech.* xii. 10, especially on a comparison with *Rev.* i. 7. 'every eye shall see him, and they also that pierced him:' for none have seen Jehovah at any time, much less have they seen him as a man; least of all have they pierced him. Secondly, they pierced him who 'poured upon them the spirit of grace,' v. 10. Now it was the Father who poured the spirit of grace through the Son; *Acts* ii. 33. 'having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this.' Therefore it was the Father whom they pierced in the Son. Accordingly, John does not say, 'they shall look upon me,' but, 'they shall look upon him whom they pierced,' chap. xix. 37. So also in the verse of Zechariah alluded to a change of persons takes place—'they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son;' as if Jehovah were not properly alluding to himself, but spoke of another, that is, of the Son. The passage in *Malachi* iii. 1. admits of a similar interpretation: 'behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me, and Jehovah, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold he shall come,

saith Jehovah of hosts.' From which passage Placæus argues thus: He before whose face the Baptist is to be sent as a messenger, is the God of Israel; but the Baptist was not sent before the face of the Father; therefore Christ is that God of Israel. But if the name of Elias could be ascribed to John the Baptist, *Matt.* xi. 14. inasmuch as he 'went before him in the spirit and power of Elias,' *Luke* i. 17. why may not the Father be said to send him before his own face, inasmuch as he sends him before the face of him who was to come in the name of the Father? for that it was the Father who sent the messenger, is proved by the subsequent words of the same verse, since the phrases 'I who sent,' and 'the messenger of the covenant who shall come,' and 'Jehovah of hosts who saith these things,' can scarcely be understood to apply all to the same person. Nay, even according to Christ's own interpretation, the verse implies that it was the Father who sent the messenger; *Matt.* xi. 10. 'behold, I send my messenger before thy face.' Who was it that sent?—the Son, according to Placæus. Before the face of whom?—of the Son:—therefore the Son addresses himself in this passage, and sends himself before his own face, which is a new and unheard of figure of speech; not to mention that the Baptist himself testifies that he was sent by the Father, *John* i. 33. 'I knew him not, but he that sent me....the same said unto me,' &c. God the Father, therefore, sent the messenger before the face of his Son, inasmuch as that messenger preceded the advent of the Son; he sent him before his own face, inasmuch as he was himself in Christ, or, which is the same thing, in the Son, 'reconciling the world unto

himself.' 2 *Cor.* v. 19. That the name and presence of God is used to imply his vicarious power and might resident in the Son, is proved by another prophecy concerning John the Baptist. *Isai.* xl. 3. 'the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of Jehovah; make straight in the desert a highway for our God.' For the Baptist was never heard to cry that Christ was 'Jehovah,' or 'our God.'

Recurring, however, to the Gospel itself, on which, as on a foundation, our dependence should chiefly be placed, and adducing my proofs more especially from the evangelist John, the leading purpose of whose work was to declare explicitly the nature of the Son's divinity, I proceed to demonstrate the other proposition announced in my original division of the subject—namely, that the Son himself professes to have received from the Father, not only the name of God and of Jehovah, but all that pertains to his own being,—that is to say, his individuality, his existence itself, his attributes, his works, his divine honours; to which doctrine the apostles also, subsequent to Christ, bear their testimony. *John* iii. 35. 'the Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things unto him.' xiii. 3. 'Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things unto him, and that he was come from God.' *Matt.* xi. 27. 'all things are delivered unto me of my Father.'

But here perhaps the advocates of the contrary opinion will interpose with the same argument which was advanced before; for they are constantly shifting the form of their reasoning, Vertumnus-like,\* and

\* 'Let him try which way he can wind in his Vertumnian distinctions and evasions, if his canonical gabardine of text and letter do not sit too

using the twofold nature of Christ developed in his office of mediator, as a ready subterfuge by which to evade any arguments that may be brought against them. What Scripture says of the Son generally, they apply, as suits their purpose, in a partial and restricted sense; at one time to the Son of God, at another to the Son of Man,—now to the Mediator in his divine, now in his human capacity, and now again in his union of both natures. But the Son himself says expressly, ‘the Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand,’ *John* iii. 35.—namely, because he loveth him, not because he hath begotten him—and he hath given all things to him as the Son, not as Mediator only. If the words had been meant to convey the sense attributed to them by my opponents, it would have been more satisfactory and intelligible to have said, ‘the Father loveth Christ,’ or ‘the Mediator,’ or ‘the Son of Man.’ None of these modes of expression are adopted, but it is simply said, ‘the Father loveth the Son;’ that is, whatever is comprehended under the name of the Son. The same question may also be repeated which was asked before, whether from the time that he became the Mediator, his Deity, in their opinion, remained what it had previously been, or not? If it remained the same, why does he ask and receive every thing from the Father, and not from himself? If all things come

close about him, and pinch his activity.’ *Tetrachordon*, Prose Works, II. 201. ‘Vertit rationes et “annon rex cum optimatibus plus potestatis habeat” querit; iterum nego, Vertumne, si pro optimatibus procures intelligas, quoniam accidere potest ut nemo inter eos optimatis nomine sit dignus.’ *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, Prose Works, V. 149.

from the Father, why is it necessary (as they maintain it to be) for the mediatorial office, that he should be the true and supreme God ; since he has received from the Father whatever belongs to him, not only in his mediatorial, but in his filial character? If his Deity be not the same as before, he was never the Supreme God. From hence may be understood *John* xvi. 15. ‘all things that the Father hath are mine’—that is, by the Father’s gift. And xvii. 9, 10. ‘them which thou hast given me, for they are thine ; and all mine are thine, and thine are mine.’

In the first place, then, it is most evident that he receives his name from the Father. *Isai.* ix. 6. ‘his name shall be called Wonderful,’ &c. ‘the everlasting Father;’\* if indeed this elliptical passage be rightly understood ; for, strictly speaking, the Son is not the Father, and cannot properly bear the name, nor is it elsewhere ascribed to him, even if we should allow that in some sense or other it is applied to him in the passage before us. The last clause, however, is generally translated not ‘the everlasting Father,’ but ‘the Father of the age to come,’†—that is, its teacher, the name of father being often attributed to a teacher. *Philipp.* ii. 9. ‘wherefore God, also hath highly exalted him, and hath given him (*καὶ ἐχαρίσατο*) a name which is above every name.’ *Heb.* i. 4. ‘being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name

\* Milton follows the version of Tremellius, who translates the passage thus—‘Cujus nomen vocat Jehova, admirabilem,’ &c.

† Πάτερ μίλλοντος αἰῶνος. Septuag. ‘Pater futuri sæculi.’ Vulg. ‘The Father of the everlasting age.’ Lowth. ‘The Father of the world to come.’ Douay Bible.



than they.' *Eph.* i. 20, 21. 'when he set him at his own right hand.....far above all principality,' &c. 'and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.' There is no reason why that name should not be Jehovah, or any other name pertaining to the Deity, if there be any still higher : but the imposition of a name is allowed to be uniformly the privilege of the greater personage, whether father or lord.

We need be under no concern, however, respecting the name, seeing that the Son receives his very being in like manner from the Father. *John* vii. 29. 'I am from him.' The same thing is implied *John* i. 1. 'in the beginning.' For the notion of his eternity is here excluded not only by the decree, as has been stated before, but by the name of Son, and by the phrases—'this day have I begotten thee,' and, 'I will be to him a father.' Besides, the word 'beginning,' can only here mean 'before the foundation of the world,' according to *John* xvii. 5. as is evident from *Col.* i. 15—17. 'the first born of every creature : for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth,' &c. 'and he is before all things, and by him all things consist.' Here the Son, not in his human or mediatorial character, but in his capacity of creator, is himself called the first born of every creature. So too, *Heb.* ii. 11. 'for both he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one ;' and iii. 2. 'faithful to him that appointed him.' Him who was begotten from all eternity the Father cannot have begotten, for what was made from all eternity was never in the act of being made ; him whom the Father begat from all eternity

he still begets ; he whom he still begets is not yet begotten, and therefore is not yet a son ; for an action which has no beginning can have no completion. Besides, it seems to be altogether impossible that the Son should be either begotten or born from all eternity. If he is the Son, either he must have been originally in the Father, and have proceeded from him, or he must always have been as he is now, separate from the Father, self-existent and independent. If he was originally in the Father, but now exists separately, he has undergone a certain change at some time or other, and is therefore mutable. If he always existed separately from, and independently of, the Father, how is he from the Father, how begotten, how the Son, how separate in subsistence, unless he be also separate in essence ? since (laying aside metaphysical trifling) a substantial essence and a subsistence are the same thing. However this may be, it will be universally acknowledged that the Son now at least differs numerically from the Father ; but that those who differ numerically must differ also in their proper essences, as the logicians express it, is too clear to be denied by any one possessed of common reason. Hence it follows that the Father and the Son differ in essence.

That this is the true doctrine, reason shows on every view of the subject ; that it is contrary to Scripture, which my opponents persist in maintaining, remains to be proved by those who make the assertion. Nor does the type of Melchisedec, on which so much reliance is placed, involve any difficulty. *Heb.* vii. 3. ‘ without father, without mother, without descent ; having neither beginning of days, nor end

of life ; but made like unto the Son of God.' For inasmuch as the Son was without any earthly father, he is in one sense said to have had no beginning of days ; but it no more appears that he had no beginning of days from all eternity, than that he had no Father, or was not a Son. If however he derived his essence from the Father, let it be shown how that essence can have been supremely divine, that is, identically the same with the essence of the Father ; since the divine essence, whose property it is to be always one, cannot possibly generate the same essence by which it is generated, nor can a subsistence or person become an agent or patient under either of the circumstances supposed, unless the entire essence be simultaneously agent or patient in the same manner also. Now as the effect of generation is to produce something which shall exist independently of the generator, it follows that God cannot beget a co-equal Deity, because unity and infinity are two of his essential attributes. Since therefore the Son derives his essence from the Father, he is posterior to the Father not merely in rank (a distinction unauthorized by Scripture, and by which many are deceived) but also in essence ; and the filial character itself, on the strength of which they are chiefly wont to build his claim to supreme divinity, affords the best refutation of their opinion. For the supreme God is self-existent ; but he who is not self-existent, who did not beget, but was begotten, is not the first cause, but the effect, and therefore is not the supreme God. He who was begotten from all eternity, must have been from all eternity ; but if he can have been begotten who was from all eternity, there

is no reason why the Father himself should not have been begotten, and have derived his origin also from some paternal essence. Besides, since father and son are relative terms, distinguished from each other both in theory and in fact, and since according to the laws of contraries the father cannot be the son, nor the son the father, if (which is impossible from the nature of relation) they were of one essence, it would follow that the father stood in a filial relation to the son, and the son in a paternal relation to the father, —a position, of the extravagance of which any rational being may judge. For the doctrine which holds that a plurality of hypostasis is consistent with a unity of essence, has already been sufficiently confuted. Lastly, if the Son be of the same essence with the Father, and the same Son after his hypostatical union coalesce in one person with man, I do not see how to evade the inference, that man also is the same person with the Father, an hypothesis which would give birth to not a few paradoxes. But more may perhaps be said on this point, when the incarnation of Christ comes under consideration.

With regard to his existence. *John* v. 26. ‘as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself.’ vi. 57. ‘as the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me,’ &c. This gift of life is for ever.\*  
*Heb.* ii. 8. ‘unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,’—hence, xi. 12. ‘they

\* . . . . . Thou hast given me to possess  
 Life in myself for ever; by thee I live,  
 Though now to Death I yield. *Paradise Lost*, III. 243.

shall perish, but thou remainest.....but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.'

With regard to the divine attributes. And first, that of Omnipresence ; for if the Father has given all things to the Son, even his very being and life, he has also given him to be wherever he is. In this sense is to be understood *John* i. 48. ' before that Philip called thee.....I saw thee.' For Nathaniel inferred nothing more from this than what he professes in the next verse,—' thou art the Son of God,' and *iii.* 13. ' the Son of man which is in heaven.' These words can never prove that the Son, whether of man or of God, is of the same essence with the Father ; but only that the Son of man came down from heaven at the time when he was conceived in the womb of the Virgin, that though he was ministering on earth in the body, his whole spirit and mind, as befitted a great prophet, were in the Father,—or that he, who when made man was endowed with the highest degree of virtue, is, by reason of that virtue, or of a superior nature given to him in the beginning,\* even now in heaven ; or rather ' which was in heaven.' the Greek *ὅν* having both significations. Again, *Matt.* xviii. 20. ' there am I in the midst of them.'

\* . . . . . hast been found

By merit, more than birthright, Son of God.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 308.

. . . . . For their King

Messiah, who by right of merit reigns. VI. 42.

That all the angels and ethereal powers,  
They now, and men hereafter, may discern  
From what consummate virtue I have chose  
This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,  
To earn salvation for the sons of men.

*Paradise Regained*, I. 163.

xxviii. 20. 'I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' Even these texts, however, do not amount to an assertion of absolute omnipresence, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter.

Omniscience. *Matt.* xi. 27. 'all things are delivered unto me of my Father, and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. *John* v. 20. 'the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things.' viii. 26. 'I speak those things that I have heard of him.' v. 28. 'then shall ye know that.....as my Father hath taught me, I speak these things.' v. 38. 'I speak that which I have seen with my Father.' xv. 15. 'all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you.' ii. 24, 25. 'he knew all men.....for he knew what was in man.' xxi. 17. 'thou knowest all things.' xvi. 30. 'now are we sure that thou knowest all things.....by this we believe that thou camest forth from God.' iii. 31—34. 'he that cometh from heaven.....what he hath seen and heard.....he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God; for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him.' *Rev.* i. 1. 'the revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him,'—whence it is written of him, ii. 23. 'I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts,'—even as it is said of the faithful, that they know all things; 1 *John* ii. 20. 'ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.' Even the Son, however, knows not all things absolutely; there being some secret purposes, the knowledge of which the Father has reserved to himself alone. *Mark* xiii. 32. 'of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the

angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father ;' or as it is in *Matt.* xxiv. 36. ' my Father only.' *Acts* i. 7. ' the times and the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power.'

Authority.\* *Matt.* xxviii. 18. ' all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.' *Luke* xxii. 29. ' I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me.' *John* v. 22. ' the Father hath committed all judgement unto the Son.' v. 43. ' I am come in my Father's name.' vii. 16. ' my doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me.' viii. 42. ' I proceeded forth and came from God ; neither came I of myself, but he sent me.' xii. 49, 50. ' I have not spoken of myself but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak.' xiv. 24. ' the word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's which sent me.' xvii. 2. ' as thou hast given him power over all flesh.' *Rev.* ii. 26, 27. ' to him will I give power....even as I received of my Father.'

Omnipotence. *John* v. 19. ' the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do ; for what things soever he doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise.' v. 30. ' I can of my own self do nothing.' x. 18. ' I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again : this commandment have I received of my Father.' Hence *Philipp.* iii. 21. ' he is able even to subdue all things unto

\* ..... All power

I give thee.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 317

Scepter and power, thy giving, I assume,  
And gladlier shall resign, when in the end  
Thou shalt be all in all— VL 730.

himself.' *Rev.* i. 8. 'I am.....the Almighty:' though it may be questioned whether this is not said of God the Father by the Son or the angel representing his authority, as has been explained before : so also *Psal.* ii. 7.

Works. *John* v. 20, 21. 'for the Father....will show him greater works than these....for as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them ; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.' v. 36. 'the works that my Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me that the Father hath sent me : '—it is not therefore his divinity of which they bear witness, but his mission from God ; and so in other places. viii. 28. 'then shall ye know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself.' x. 32. 'many good works have I showed you from my Father.' xi. 22. 'I know that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee.' v. 41. 'Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me.' So likewise in working miracles, even where he does not expressly implore the divine assistance, he nevertheless acknowledges it. *Matt.* xii. 28. compared with *Luke* xi. 20. 'I cast out devils by the spirit,' or 'finger, of God.' *John* xiv. 10. 'the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works.' Yet the nature of these works, although divine, was such, that angels were not precluded from performing similar miracles at the same time and in the same place where Christ himself abode daily ; *John* v. 4. 'an angel went down at a certain season into the pool.' The disciples also performed the same works. *John* xiv. 12. 'he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also ; and greater works than these shall he do.'



The following gifts also, great as they are, were received by him from the Father. First, the power of conversion. *John* vi. 44. 'no man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him.' xvii. 2. 'that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him : ' and so uniformly ; whence arises the expression, *Matt.* xxiv. 31.—' his elect.' Wherever therefore Christ is said to have chosen any one, as *John* xiii. 18. and xv. 16, 19. he must be understood to speak only of the election to the apostolical office.

Secondly, creation—but with this peculiarity, that it is always said to have taken place *per eum*, through him, not by him, but by the Father. *Isai.* li. 16. 'I have put my words in thy mouth, and I have covered thee in the shadow of mine hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth, and say unto Zion, Thou art my people.' Whether this be understood of the old or the new creation, the inference is the same. *Rom.* xi. 36. 'for of him,'—that is, of the Father,—'and through him, and to him are all things ; to whom be glory for ever.' *1 Cor.* viii. 6. 'to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things.' The remaining passages on the same subject will be cited in the seventh chapter, on the Creation. But the preposition *per* must signify the secondary efficient cause, whenever the *efficiens a quo*, that is, the principal efficient cause, is either expressed or understood. Now it appears from all the texts which have been already quoted, as well as from those which will be produced hereafter, that the

Father is the first or chief cause of all things. This is evident from the single passage, *Heb.* iii. 1—6. 'consider the Apostle....who was faithful to him that appointed him.....who hath builded the house,' that is, the Church. But he 'that appointed him,' v. 2. and 'builded all things, is God,' that is, the Father, v. 4.

Thirdly, the remission of sins, even in his human nature. *John* v. 22. 'the Father hath committed all judgement unto the Son.' *Matt.* ix. 6. 'but that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, then saith he,' &c. *Acts* v. 31. 'him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins.' Hence Stephen says, vii. 60. 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.' It clearly appears from these passages that the following expression in *Isaiah* refers primarily to God the Father, xxxv. 4—6. 'behold, your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompense, he will come and save you: then the eyes of the blind shall be opened,' &c. For it was the Father who appointed Christ 'to be a Saviour,' *Acts* v. 31. and the Father is said 'to come unto him,' *John* xiv. 23. and 'do the works,' as has been proved before.

Fourthly, preservation. *John* xvii. 11, 12. 'holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me.....I kept them in thy name.' v. 15. 'I pray....that thou shouldest keep them from the evil.' *Col.* i. 17. 'by him all things consist.' *Heb.* i. 3. 'upholding all things by the word of his power.' where it is read in the Greek, not 'of his own power,' but 'of his,' namely, of the Father's pow-

er.\* But this subject will come under consideration again in the eighth chapter, on Providence, where the chief government of all things will be shown to belong primarily to the Father alone; whence the Father, Jehovah, is often called by the prophets not only the Preserver, but also the Saviour. Those who refer these passages to the Son, on account of the appellation of Saviour, seem to fancy that they hereby gain an important argument for his divinity; as if the same title were not frequently applied to the Father in the New Testament, as will be shown in the thirteenth chapter.

Fifthly, renovation. *Acts* v. 31. 'him hath God exalted with his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel.' *1 Cor.* i. 30. 'of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.' *2 Cor.* iv. 6. 'for God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.' v. 17—21. 'behold, all things are become new, and all things are of God, who hath reconciled himself to us by Jesus Christ....we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled unto God: for he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.' Hence *Jer.* xxiii. 6. may be explained without difficulty; 'this is his name whereby he shall be called, Jehovah our

\* This observation is added, because in the Latin version used by Milton the clause is translated *sustinens omnia verbo potentiae suae*, not *illius*. Peirce (Notes on St. Paul's Epistles) refers the phrase *his power*, to God the Father; but nearly all the best commentators uniformly explain it as referring to the Son.

righteousness,' and xxxiii. 16. 'this is the name where-with she shall be called' (that is, the Church, which does not thereby become essentially one with God) 'Jehovah our righteousness.'\*

Sixthly, the power of conferring gifts—namely, that vicarious power which he has received from the Father, *John* xvii. 18. 'as thou has sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world.' See also xx. 21. Hence *Matt.* x. 1. 'he gave them power against unclean spirits.' *Acts* iii. 6. 'in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk.' ix. 34. 'Jesus Christ maketh thee whole.' What was said before of his works, may be repeated here. *John* xiv. 16. 'I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter.' xvi. 13, &c. 'the Spirit shall receive of mine.....all things that the Father hath are mine, therefore said I that he shall take of mine.' xx. 21, 22. 'as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.....receive the Holy Ghost.' Hence *Eph.* iv. 8. 'he gave gifts to men;' compared with *Psal.* lxxviii. 18. whence it is taken—'thou hast received gifts for men.'

Seventhly, his mediatorial work itself, or rather his passion. *Matt.* xxvi. 39. 'O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.' *Luke* xxii. 43. 'there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him.' *Heb.* v. 7, 8. 'who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and sup-

\* In the original, the sentence is as follows :—' xxxiii. 16. *et hoc est quod vocabit eam* (nempe ecclesiam, non idcirco essentia cum Deo unam) *Jehovah justitia nostra* ; vel clariore syntaxi, *Jehovam justitiam nostram* ; vel si quis mavult, *hic qui vocabit eam* ; eodem pertinet.' I have omitted in the translation the latter clauses of the sentence, which could scarcely be made intelligible in a language without inflections.

plications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared : though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.' For if the Son was able to accomplish by his own independent power the work of his passion, why did he forsake himself ; why did he implore the assistance of his Father ; why was an angel sent to strengthen him ? How then can the Son be considered co-essential and co-equal with the Father ? So too he exclaimed upon the cross—' My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?' He whom the Son, himself God, addresses as God, must be the Father,—why then did the Son call upon the Father ? Because he felt even his divine nature insufficient to support him under the pains of death. Thus also he said, when at the point of death, *Luke* xxiii. 46. ' Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' To whom rather than to himself as God would he have commended himself in his human nature, if by his own divine nature alone he had possessed sufficient power to deliver himself from death ? It was therefore the Father only who raised him again to life ; which is the next particular to be noticed.

Eighthly, his resuscitation from death. *2 Cor.* iv. 14. ' knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you.' *1 Thess.* iv. 14. ' them also which sleep in Jesus shall God bring with him.' But this point has been sufficiently illustrated by ample quotations in a former part of the chapter.

Ninthly, his future judicial advent.\* *Rom.* ii. 16. 'in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus' Christ according to my gospel.' *1 Tim.* vi. 14. 'until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

Tenthly, divine honours. *John* v. 22, 23. 'the Father hath committed all judgement unto the Son; that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.....which hath sent him.' *Philipp.* ii. 9—11. 'God hath highly exalted him, and hath given him a name.....that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow.....and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the father.' *Heb.* i. 6. 'when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.' *Rev.* v. 12. 'worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power,' &c. Hence *Acts* vii. 59. 'calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus receive my spirit.' ix. 14. 'all that call upon thy name.' *1 Cor.* i. 2. 'with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord.' *2 Tim.* ii. 22. 'with them that call upon the Lord out of a pure heart,' that is, as it is explained *Col.* iii. 17. 'whatsoever ye do.....do it in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him.' *2 Tim.* ii. 19. 'every one that nameth the name of Christ.' It appears therefore that when we call upon the Son of God, it is only in his capacity of advocate with the Father. So *Rev.* xxii. 20.

\* But whom send I to judge them? Whom but thee,  
Vicegerent Son? To thee I have transferr'd  
All judgement, whether in Heav'n or Earth, or Hell.  
*Paradise Lost*, X. 55.

‘even so, come, Lord Jesus’—namely to execute judgement, ‘which the Father hath committed unto him, that all men might honour the Son,’ &c. *John* v. 22, 23.

Eleventhly, baptism in his name. *Matt.* xxviii. 18, 19. ‘all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. More will be said on this subject in the next chapter.

✓ Twelfthly, belief in him; if indeed this should be considered as an honour peculiar to divinity; for the Israelites are said, *Exod.* xiv. 31. ‘to believe Jehovah and his servant Moses.’ Again, to ‘believe the prophets’ occurs *2 Chron.* xx. 20. and ‘faith toward all saints,’ *Philem.* 5. and ‘Moses in whom ye trust,’ *John* v. 45. Whence it would seem, that *to believe in any one* is nothing more than an Hebraism, which the Greeks or Latins express by the phrase, *to believe any one*; so that whatever trifling distinction may be made between the two, originates in the schools, and not in Scripture. For in some cases, *to believe in any one* implies no faith at all. *John* ii. 23, 24. ‘many believed in his name.....but Jesus did not commit himself unto them.’ xii. 42. ‘many believed on him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him.’ On the other hand, *to believe any one*, often signifies the highest degree of faith. *John* v. 24. ‘he that believeth on him (qui credit ei) that sent me, hath everlasting life.’ *Rom.* iv. 3. ‘Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.’ *1 John* v. 10. ‘he that believeth not God.’ See also *Tit.* iii. 8. This honour, however,

like the others, is derived from the Father. *John* iii. 35, 36. 'the Father hath given all things into his hand : he that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life.' vi. 40. 'this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life.' xii. 44. 'Jesus cried and said, He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me.' Hence xiv. 1, 'ye believe in God, believe also in me.' 1 *John* iii. 23. 'this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ.' It may therefore be laid down as certain, that believing in Christ implies nothing more than that we believe Christ to be the Son of God, sent from the Father for our salvation. *John* xi. 25—27. 'Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection and the life ; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live : and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this ? She saith unto him, Yea Lord ; I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.'

Thirteenthly, divine glory. *John* i. 1. 'the Word was with God, and the Word was God.' v. 14. 'we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father,' *παρὰ Πατρός*. v. 18. 'no man hath seen God at any time ; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.' vi. 46. 'not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God,' *ὁ ὢν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ* xvii. 5. 'glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.' No one doubts that the Father restored the Son, on his ascent into heaven, to that original place of glory of which he



here speaks. That place will be universally acknowledged to be the right hand of God ; the same therefore was his place of glory in the beginning, and from which he had descended. But the right hand of God primarily signifies a glory, not in the highest sense divine, but only next in dignity to God. So v. 24, ‘ that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me ; for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world.’ In these, as in other passages, we are taught that the nature of the Son is indeed divine, but distinct from and clearly inferior to the nature of the Father,—for to be with God, *πρὸς Θεόν*, and to be from God, *παρὰ Θεῶ*,—to be God, and to be in the bosom of God the Father,—to be God, and to be from God,—to be the one invisible God, and to be the only-begotten and visible, are things so different that they cannot be predicated of one and the same essence. Besides, the fact that the glory which he had even in his divine nature before the foundation of the world, was not self-derived, but given by the love of the Father, plainly demonstrates him to be inferior to the Father. So *Matt.* xvi. 27. ‘ in the glory of his Father.’ *Acts* iii. 13. ‘ the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified his Son Jesus.’ *Col.* i. 19. ‘ it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell.’ ii. 9. ‘ in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.’ *Eph.* iii. 19. ‘ that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.’ These passages most clearly evince that Christ has received his fulness from God, in the sense in which we shall receive our fulness from Christ. For the term *bodily*, which is subjoined, either means *substantially*, in op-

position to the *vain deceit* mentioned in the preceding verse,\* or is of no weight in proving that Christ is of the same essence with God. 1 *Pet.* i. 21. 'who gave him glory, that your faith and hope might be in God.' ii. 4. 'chosen of God and precious.' 2 *Pet.* i. 16, 17. 'we were eye-witnesses of his majesty; for he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him—.' 1 *Pet.* iv. 11. compared with 2 *Pet.* iii. 18. 'that God in all things may be glorified, through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever: but grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom be glory both now and for ever.' On a collation of the two passages, it would seem that the phrase 'our Lord,' in the latter, must be understood of the Father, as is frequently the case. If however it be applied to the Son, the inference is the same, for it does not alter the doctrine of the former passage. *John* xii. 41. citing *Isai.* lxiii. 5. 'these things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him,'—that is, the glory of the only-begotten, given to the Son by the Father. Nor is any difficulty created by *Isai.* xlii. 8. 'I am Jehovah, that is my name; and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise to graven images.' For though the Son be *another* than the Father, God's meaning is merely that he will not give his glory to graven images and strange gods,—not that he will not give it to the Son, who is the brightness of his

\* Milton seems to have had the same idea in his mind in the following passage:

'Beyond compare the Son of God was seen  
Most glorious; in him all his Father shone  
Substantially express'd—.' *Paradise Lost*, III. 138.

glory, and the express image of his person,\* and upon whom he had promised that he would put his Spirit, v. 1. For the Father does not alienate his glory from himself in imparting it to the Son, inasmuch as the Son uniformly glorifies the Father.† *John* xiii. 31. 'now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him.' viii. 50. 'I seek not mine own glory; there is one that seeketh and judgeth.'

Hence it becomes evident on what principle the attributes of the Father are said to pertain to the Son. *John* xvi. 15. 'all things that the Father hath are mine.' xvii. 6, 7. 'thine they were, and thou gavest them me;.....now they have known that all things whatsoever thou hast given me are of thee.' It is

- \* . . . . . 'On his right  
The radiant image of his glory sat,  
His only Son.' *Paradise Lost*, III. 62.  
'Son, thou in whom my glory I behold  
In full resplendence, heir of all my might—.' V. 719.  
'Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd,  
Son in whose face invisible is beheld  
Visibly, what by Deity I am;  
And in whose hand what by decree I do,  
Second Omnipotence. VI. 680.  
. . . . . Unfolding bright  
Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son  
Blaz'd forth unclouded Deity: He full  
Resplendent all his Father manifest  
Express'd. X. 63.  
† O Father, O supreme of heavenly thrones,  
First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou always seek'st  
To glorify thy Son, I always thee,  
As is most just: This I my glory account,  
My exaltation, and my whole delight, &c. VI. 723.  
Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek,  
Oft not deserv'd? I seek not mine, but his  
Who sent me, and thereby witness whence I am.  
*Paradise Regained*, II. 105.

therefore said, v. 10. 'all mine are thine, and thine are mine'—namely, in the same sense in which he had called the kingdom his, *Luke* xxii. 30. for he had said in the preceding verse, 'I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me.'

Lastly, his coming to judgment. *1 Tim.* vi. 14. 'until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his time he shall show, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see.'

Christ therefore, having received all these things from the Father, and 'being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God,' *Philipp.* ii. 5. namely, because he had obtained them by gift, not by robbery. For if this passage imply his co-equality with the Father, it rather refutes than proves his unity of essence; since equality cannot exist but between two or more essences. Further, the phrases 'he did not think it,'—'he made himself of no reputation,' (literally, *he emptied himself*,) appear inapplicable to the supreme God. For *to think* is nothing else than to entertain an opinion, which cannot be properly said of God.\* Nor can the infinite God be said to empty himself, any more than to contradict himself; for infinity and emptiness are opposite terms. But since he emptied himself of that form of God in which he had previously existed, if the form

\* 'Opinio autem in Deum non cadit.' Milton uses the same words in his treatise on *Logic*, where he assigns the reason. 'Opinio tamen in Deum non cadit, quia per causas æque cognoscit.' *Prose Works*, VI. 293. For, as he says in his *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*, 'opinion is but knowledge in the making.' I. 322.

of God is to be taken for the essence of the Deity itself, it would prove him to have emptied himself of that essence, which is impossible.

Again, the Son himself acknowledges and declares openly, that the Father is greater than the Son ; which was the last proposition I undertook to prove. *John* x. 29. ' my Father is greater than all.' xiv. 28. ' my Father is greater than I.' It will be answered, that Christ is speaking of his human nature. But did his disciples understand him as speaking merely of his human nature ? Was this the belief in himself which Christ required ? Such an opinion will scarcely be maintained. If therefore he said this, not of his human nature only, (for that the Father was greater than he in his human nature could not admit of a doubt) but in the sense in which he himself wished his followers to conceive of him both as God and man, it ought undoubtedly to be understood as if he had said, My Father is greater than I, whatsoever I am, both in my human and divine nature ; otherwise the speaker would not have been he in whom they believed, and instead of teaching them, he would only have been imposing upon them with an equivocation. He must therefore have intended to compare the nature with the person, not the nature of God the Father with the nature of the Son in his human form. So v. 31. ' as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do.' *John* v. 18, 19. Being accused by the Jews of having made himself equal with God, he expressly denies it : ' the Son can do nothing of himself,' v. 30. ' as I hear I judge, and my judgement is just ; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of my Father which sent me.'

vi. 38. 'I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.' Now he that was sent was the only begotten Son; therefore the will of the Father is other and greater than the will of the only begotten Son. vii. 28. 'Jesus cried in the temple, saying.....I am not come of myself.' viii. 29. 'he that sent me is with me: the Father hath not left me alone; for I do always those things that please him.' If he says this as God, how could he be left by the Father, with whom he was essentially one? if as man, what is meant by his being 'left alone,' who was sustained by a Godhead of equal power? And why 'did not the Father leave him alone?'—not because he was essentially one with him, but because he 'did always those things that pleased him,' that is, as the less conforms himself to the will of the greater. v. 42. 'neither came I of myself,'—not therefore of his own Godhead,—'but he sent me;' he that sent him was therefore another and greater than himself. v. 49. 'I honour my Father.' v. 50. 'I seek not mine own glory.' v. 54. 'if I honour myself, my glory is nothing;' it is therefore less than the Father's glory. x. 24, 25. 'if thou be the Christ, tell us plainly....the works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me.' xv. 10. 'as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love.' xvi. 25. 'the time cometh when I shall no more speak to you in proverbs, but I shall shew you plainly of the Father.' xx. 17. 'I ascend unto my Father and your Father; and to my God, and your God.' Compare also *Rev.* i. 11. 'I am Alpha and Omega,' and v. 17. 'I am the first and the last.' See also ii. 8. iii. 12. 'him that overcom-

eth will I make a pillar in the temple of my God,' which is repeated three times successively. Here he, who had just before styled himself 'the first and the last,' acknowledges that the Father was his God. *Matt.* xi. 25, 26. 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth; because thou hast hid these things,' &c. 'even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.'

Thus far we have considered the testimony of the Son respecting the Father; let us now enquire what is the testimony of the Father respecting the Son: for it is written, *Matt.* xi. 27. 'no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.' 1 *John* v. 9. 'this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son.' Here the Father, when about to testify of the Son, is called God absolutely; and his witness is most explicit. *Matt.* iii. 17. 'this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' *Isai.* xlii. 1. compared with *Matt.* xii. 18. 'behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him:—see also *Matt.* xvii. 5. 2 *Pet.* i. 17. 'for he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' *Mal.* iii. 1. 'even the messenger of the covenant, behold he shall come, saith Jehovah of hosts:—and still more clearly *Psal.* ii. where God the Father is introduced in his own person as explicitly declaring the nature and offices of his Son. *Psal.* vii. 8, 11, 12. 'I will declare the decree; Jehovah hath said unto me, Thou art my Son....ask of

me and I shall give....serve Jehovah....kiss the Son.' *Heb.* i. 8, 9. 'unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever....thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.' To the above may also be added the testimony of the angel Gabriel, *Luke* i. 32. 'he shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David.' If then he be the Son of the Most High, he is not himself the Most High.

The apostles every where teach the same doctrine; as the Baptist had done before them. *John* i. 29. 'behold the Lamb of God.' v. 33, 34. 'I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me,' &c. 'and I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God.' iii. 32. 'what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth,' &c.—not he alone that was 'earthly,' nor did he speak only of 'earthly things,' but he that is 'above all,' and that 'cometh from heaven.' v. 31. lest it should be still contended that this and similar texts refer to the human nature of Christ. *2 Cor.* iv. 4, 6. 'lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.' *Col.* i. 15. 'who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature.' *Philipp.* ii. 6. 'in the form of God.' *Heb.* i. 2. 'whom he hath appointed heir.' v. 3. 'the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person.' The terms here used, being all relative, and applied numerically to two persons, prove, first, that there is no unity of essence, and secondly, that the one is inferior to the other. So v. 4. 'being made



so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.' 1 *Cor.* iii. 23. 'ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.' Here, if any where, it might have been expected that Christ would have been designated by the title of God; yet it is only said that he is *God's*. The same appears even more clearly in what follows; xi. 3. 'I would have you know that....the head of Christ is God.' *Eph.* i. 17. 'the God of our Lord Jesus Christ.' 1 *Cor.* xv. 27. 'when he saith, all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him: and when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.' Here the usual subterfuge of the opponents of this doctrine, that of alleging the mediatorial office of Christ can be of no avail; since it is expressly declared, that when the Son shall have completed his functions as mediator, and nothing shall remain to prevent him from resuming his original glory as only begotten Son, he shall nevertheless be subject unto the Father.

Such was the faith of the saints respecting the Son of God; such is the tenor of the celebrated confession of that faith; such is the doctrine which alone is taught in Scripture, which is acceptable to God, and has the promise of eternal salvation. *Matt.* xvi. 15—19. 'whom say ye that I am? and Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God: and Jesus answered and said unto him; Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven....upon this rock I will

build my Church.' *Luke* ix. 20. 'the Christ of God.' *John* i. 49, 50. 'Nathanael answered and said unto him, Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel.' vi. 69. 'we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God.' ix. 35—38. 'dost thou believe on the Son of God?' he answered and said, Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him? and Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee: and he said, Lord, I believe; and he worshipped him.' xi. 22, 26, 27. 'I know that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee: whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die: believest thou this?' she saith unto him, Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.' xvi. 27, 30, 31. 'the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God: now are we sure that thou knowest all things; by this we believe that thou camest forth from God.' xvii. 3, 7, 8, 21. 'this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent: now they have known that all things, whatsoever thou hast given me, are of thee; for I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me; and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from thee: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.' xx. 31. 'these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing, ye might have life through his name.' *Acts* viii. 37. 'if thou believest, thou mayest....I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.' *Rom.* x. 9. 'if thou shalt

believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.' *Col.* ii. 2. 'that their hearts might be comforted, being knit together in love, and unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, to the acknowledgement of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ.' *Philipp.* iv. 6, 7. 'let your requests be made known unto God: and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.' *1 Pet.* i. 21. 'who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory; that your faith and hope might be in God.' *1 John* iv. 15. 'whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God.' v. 1. 'whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God.' v. 5. 'who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?' Finally, this is the faith proposed to us in the Apostles' Creed, the most ancient and universally received compendium of belief in the possession of the Church.

## CHAPTER VI.

### OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

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**H**AVING concluded what relates to the Father and the Son, the next subject to be discussed is that of the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as this latter is called the Spirit of the Father and the Son. With regard to the nature of the Spirit, in what manner it exists, or whence it arose, Scripture is silent ; which is a caution to us not to be too hasty in our conclusions on the subject. For though it be a Spirit, in the same sense in which the Father and Son are properly called Spirits ; though we read that Christ by breathing on his disciples gave to them the Holy Ghost, or rather perhaps some symbol or pledge of the Holy Ghost, *John* xx. 22.—yet in treating of the nature of the Holy Spirit, we are not authorized to infer from such expressions, that the Spirit was breathed from the Father and the Son.\* The terms *emanation* and *procession*, employed by theologians on the authority of *John* xv. 26. do not relate to the nature of the Holy Spirit ; ‘ the Spirit of truth, *ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται*, who proceedeth’ or ‘ goeth forth from the

\* This seems to be said in allusion to the controversies which arose between the Eastern and Western Churches on the subject of the spiration or procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son.

Father;’ which single expression is too slender a foundation for the full establishment of so great a mystery, especially as these words relate rather to the mission than to the nature of the Spirit; in which sense the Son also is often said ἐξελεῖν, which in my opinion may be translated either *to go forth* or *to proceed* from the Father, without making any difference in the meaning, Nay, we are even said ‘to live by every word (ἐκπορευομένῳ) that proceedeth,’ or ‘goeth forth from the mouth of God,’ *Matt.* iv. 4. Since therefore the Spirit is neither said to be generated nor created, nor is any other mode of existence specifically attributed to it in Scripture, we must be content to leave undetermined a point on which the sacred writers have preserved so uniform a silence.

The name of Spirit is also frequently applied to God and angels, and to the human mind.\* When the phrase, the Spirit of God, or the Holy Spirit, occurs in the Old Testament, it is to be variously interpreted; sometimes it signifies God the Father himself,—as *Gen.* vi. 3. ‘my Spirit shall not alway strive with man;’ sometimes the power and virtue of the Father, and particularly that divine breath or influence by which every thing is created and nourished. In this sense many both of the ancient and modern interpreters understand the passage in *Gen.* i. 2. ‘the

\* Sciunt, qui in Hebræis literis versati sunt, quam late pateat Spiritus nomen. Origine sua ventum significat; ob cujus subtilitatem, quæ visum fugit, ad alia transfertur; primum ad substantias; nam Deus, angeli boni malique, deinde ipse hominis animus eo vocabulo nuncupatur.’ Grotius *ad Luc.* ix. 55. See also Gloucester Ridley’s *First Sermon on the Divinity and Personality of the Holy Ghost*, where he cautions against those grosser errors which arise from a confusion of kind.

Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.’\* Here, however, it appears to be used with reference to the Son, through whom the Father is so often said to have created all things. *Job* xxvi. 13. ‘by his Spirit he hath garnished the heavens.’ xxvii. 3. ‘the Spirit of God is in my nostrils.’ xxxiii. 4. ‘the Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life.’ *Psal.* civ. 30. ‘thou sendest forth thy Spirit, they are created,’ cxxxix. 7. ‘whither shall I go then from thy Spirit?’ *Ezek.* xxxvii. 14. ‘I shall put my Spirit in you, and ye shall live.’ See also many other similar passages.

Sometimes it means an angel. *Isai.* xlviii. 16. ‘the Lord Jehovah and his Spirit hath sent me.’ *Ezek.* iii. 12. ‘then the Spirit took me up.’† See also v. 14, 24, &c.

Sometimes it means Christ, who, according to the common opinion was sent by the Father to lead the Israelites into the land of Canaan. *Isai.* lxiii. 10, 11. ‘they rebelled and vexed his Holy Spirit.....where is he that put his Holy Spirit within them?’—that is, the angel to whom he transferred his own name, namely, Christ ‘whom they tempted,’ *Numb.* xxi. 5, &c. compared with 1 *Cor.* x. 9.

\* Milton seems to allude to the Rabbinical interpretation of this passage, which, following the opinion of some of the Fathers, explains the *Spirit of God* to mean ἐν δυνάμει διαπλαστικῇ, or ἐν ἰσχυρίᾳ ζωτικῇ, the creative or vivifying power. It seems extraordinary that Patrick should have chosen to adopt a mode of explanation nearly similar, and not less objectionable. ‘This therefore we are to understand to be here meant; the infinite wisdom and power of God, which made a vehement commotion and mighty fermentation (by raising perhaps a great wind) upon the face of the waters.’ So too Grotius.

† The Spanish Jesuit Sanctius, and Pradus (*In Ezechielem Explanations*, &c. Romæ 1596.) understand this passage in the sense attributed to it by Milton.

Sometimes it means that impulse or voice of God by which the prophets were inspired. *Nehem.* ix. 30. 'thou testifiedst against them by thy Spirit in thy prophets.'

Sometimes it means that light of truth, whether ordinary or extraordinary, wherewith God enlightens and leads his people. *Numb.* xiv. 24 'my servant Caleb, because he had another Spirit within him'—*Nehem.* ix. 20. 'thou gavest also thy good Spirit to instruct them.' *Psal.* li. 11, 12. 'take not thy Holy Spirit from me....renew a right Spirit within me.' cxliii. 10. 'thy Spirit is good ; lead me into the land of uprightness.' Undoubtedly neither David, nor any other Hebrew, under the old covenant, believed in the personality of that *good* and *Holy Spirit*, unless perhaps as an angel.\*

More particularly, it implies that light which was shed on Christ himself. *Isai.* xi. 2. 'the Spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah.' xlii. 1. 'I have put my Spirit upon him,' compared with *Acts* x. 38. 'how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power.'

It is also used to signify the spiritual gifts conferred ✓ by God on individuals, and the act of gift itself. *Gen.* xli. 38. 'a man in whom the Spirit of God is.' *Numb.* xi. 17, 25, 26, 29. 'I will take of the Spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them.' *2 Kings* ii. 9. 'I pray thee, let a double portion of thy Spirit be

\* See an elaborate refutation of the opinion that this doctrine was unknown before the Christian Revelation, in Ridley's *Second Sermon on the Holy Ghost*.

upon me.' v. 15. 'the Spirit of Elijah doth rest upon Elisha.'

Nothing can be more certain, than that all these passages, and many others of a similar kind in the Old Testament, were understood of the virtue and power of God the Father, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit was not yet given, nor believed in, even by those who prophesied that it should be poured forth in the latter times.

So likewise under the Gospel, what is called the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of God, sometimes means the Father himself. *Matt.* i. 18, 20. 'that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.' *Luke* i. 35. 'the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God.'

Again, it sometimes means the virtue and power of the Father. *Matt.* xii. 28. compared with *Luke* xi. 20. 'I cast out devils by the Spirit' or 'finger of God.' *Rom.* i. 4. 'declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.' For thus the Scripture teaches throughout, that Christ was raised by the power of the Father, and thereby declared to be the Son of God. See particularly *Acts* xiii. 32, 33. quoted in the beginning of the last chapter. But the phrase 'according to the Spirit' (*secundum Spiritum*) seems to have the same signification as *Eph.* iv. 24. 'which after God (*secundum Deum*) is created in righteousness and true holiness;' and 1 *Pet.* iv. 6. 'that they might live according to God (*secundum Deum*) in the Spirit.' *Isai.* xlii. 1. compared



with *Heb.* ix. 14. 'I have put my Spirit upon him .....who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God.' *Luke* iv. 1. 'Jesus, being full of the Holy Ghost,' and v. 18. compared with *Isai.* lxi. 1. 'the Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor ; he hath sent me,' &c. *Acts* x. 38. 'God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power.' i. 2. 'after that he through the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto the apostles whom he had chosen.' It is more probable that these phrases are to be understood of the power of the Father, than of the Holy Spirit itself ; for how could it be necessary that Christ should be filled with the Holy Spirit, of whom he had himself said, *John* xvi. 15. 'he shall take of mine ?' For the same reason I am inclined to believe that the Spirit descended upon Christ at his baptism, not so much in his own name, as in virtue of a mission from the Father, and as a symbol and minister of the divine power. For what could the Spirit confer on Christ, from whom he was himself to be sent, and to receive all things ? Was his purpose to bear witness to Christ ? But as yet he was himself not so much as known. Was it meant that the Spirit should be then manifested for the first time to the church ? But at the time of his appearance nothing was said of him or of his office ; nor did that voice from heaven bear any testimony to the Spirit, but only to the Son. The descent therefore, and appearance of the Holy Spirit in the likeness of a dove, seems to have been nothing more than a representation of the ineffable affection of the Father for the Son, communicated by the Holy

Spirit, under the appropriate image of a dove, and accompanied by a voice from heaven declaratory of that affection.\*

Thirdly, the Spirit signifies a divine impulse, or light, or voice, or word, transmitted from above, either through Christ, who is the Word of God, or by some other channel. *Mark* xii. 36. 'David himself said by the Holy Ghost.' *Acts* i. 16. 'the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas.' xxviii. 25. 'well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet.' *Heb.* iii. 7. 'wherefore, as the Holy Ghost saith, To-day if ye will hear his voice,' &c. ix. 8. 'the Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest.' x. 15. 'whereof the Holy Ghost also is a witness to us.' *2 Pet.* i. 21. 'holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' *Luke* ii. 25, 26. 'the Holy Ghost was upon him: and it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost—.' It appears to me, that these and similar passages cannot be considered as referring to the express person of the Spirit, both because the Spirit was not yet given, and because Christ alone, as has been said before, is properly speaking, and in a primary sense, the Word of

\* . . . . . In likeness of a dove

The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice

From Heav'n pronounc'd him his beloved Son.

*Paradise Regained*, l. 30.

In another part of the same book, Milton intimates an uncertainty respecting the real signification of the descent of the Holy Spirit, which is very consistent with the hesitating manner in which he comments on the passage in this treatise.

. . . . . thence on his head

A perfect dove descend, (*what'er it meant*),

And out of Heav'n the sorran voice I heard, &c. 82.

God, and the Prophet of the Church ; though ‘ God at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets,’ *Heb.* i. 1. whence it appears that he did not speak by the Holy Spirit alone, unless the term be understood in the signification which I have proposed, and in a much wider sense than was subsequently attributed to it. Hence, *1 Pet.* i. 11. ‘ searching what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them’—that is, in the prophets—‘ did signify,’ must either be understood of Christ himself,—as *iii.* 18, 19. ‘ quickened by the Spirit, by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison,’—or it must be understood of the Spirit which supplied the place of Christ, the Word and the Chief Prophet.

✓ Lastly, the Spirit signifies the person itself of the Holy Spirit, or its symbol. *Matt.* iii. 16. *Mark* i. 10. ‘ he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him.’ *Luke* iii. 22. ‘ in a bodily shape like a dove.’ *John* i. 32, 33. ‘ like a dove.’ Nor let it be objected, that a dove is not a person ; for an intelligent substance, under any form whatever, is a person ; as for instance, the four living creatures seen in Ezekiel’s vision, *ch.* i. *John* xiv. 16, 17. ‘ another Comforter.’ See also *v.* 26. *xv.* 26. *xvi.* 7, 13. *xx.* 22. ‘ he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost,’—which was a kind of symbol, and sure pledge of that promise, the fulfilment of which is recorded *Acts* ii. 2—4, 33. ‘ having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this.’ *Matt.* xxviii. 19. ‘ in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ *Acts* xv. 28. ‘ it seemed good to

the Holy Ghost.' *Rom.* viii. 16. 'the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit.' v. 26. 'it helpeth our infirmities.....it maketh intercession for us.' *Eph.* i. 13, 14. τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ὃς ἐστὶν ἀρραβὼν 'ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise which (who, *Whitby*, *Macknight*) is the earnest of our inheritance.' iv. 30. 'grieve not the Holy Spirit of God.'

Lastly, it signifies the donation of the Spirit itself, and of its attendant gifts. *John* vii. 39. 'but this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given.' *Matt.* iii. 11. 'he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' See also *Acts* i. 5. and xi. 16. 1 *Thess.* v. 19. 'quench not the Spirit.'

Who this Holy Spirit is, and whence he comes, and what are his offices, no one has taught us more explicitly than the Son of God himself. *Matt.* x. 20. 'it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.' *Luke* xi. 13. 'how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.' xxiv. 49. 'behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.' *John* xiv. 16, 17. 'I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth.' v. 26. 'the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name.' xv. 26. 'the Comforter, whom I will send unto you from the Father,.....which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.' xvi. 7. 'I will send him unto you.' v. 8. 'when he is come, he will reprove

the world—.' v. 13. 'he shall not speak of himself ; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak.' v. 14. 'he shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine.' v. 15. 'all things that the Father hath are mine ; therefore said I that he shall take of mine.' xx. 22. 'when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' *Acts* ii. 2—4, 33. 'having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this—.' v. 32. 'we are his witnesses of these things, and so is also the Holy Ghost whom God hath given to them that obey him.' *Rom.* xv. 13. 'now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost.' *1 Cor.* xii. 3. 'no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.' *Heb.* ii. 4. 'God also bearing them witness both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will.' Hence he is called the Spirit of the Father, the Spirit of God, and even the Spirit of Christ. *Matt.* x. 20. 'it is the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.' *Rom.* viii. 9. 'but ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you : now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' v. 15, 16. 'ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father ; the Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit, that we are the sons of God.' *1 Cor.* vi. 11. 'by the Spirit of our God.' *2 Cor.* i. 21, 22. 'he which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God ; who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.' *Gal.* iv. 6. 'God hath sent

forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' *Eph.* i. 13, 14. 'that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance.' *iv.* 30. 'grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed.' *ii.* 18. 'through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.' *1 Pet.* i. 12. 'the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven.' From all which results the command in *Matt.* xxviii. 19. 'baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' *1 John* v. 7. 'there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.' The latter passage has been considered in the preceding chapter; but both will undergo a further examination in a subsequent part of the present.

If it be the divine will that a doctrine which is to be understood and believed as one of the primary articles of our faith, should be delivered without obscurity or confusion, and explained, as is fitting, in clear and precise terms,—if it be certain that particular care ought to be taken in every thing connected with religion, lest the objection urged by Christ against the Samaritans should be applicable to us—'ye worship ye know not what,' *John* iv. 22.—if our Lord's saying should be held sacred wherever points of faith are in question—'we know what we worship'—the particulars which have been stated seem to contain all that we are capable of knowing, or are required to know respecting the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as revelation has declared nothing else expressly on the subject. The nature of these particulars is such, that although the Holy Spirit be nowhere said to have taken upon himself any mediatorial functions, as is said of Christ,

nor to be engaged by the obligations of a filial relation to pay obedience to the Father, yet he must evidently be considered as inferior to both Father and Son, inasmuch as he is represented and declared to be subservient and obedient in all things; to have been promised, and sent, and given; to speak nothing of himself; and even to have been given as an earnest. There is no room here for any sophistical distinction founded on a twofold nature; all these expressions refer to the Holy Spirit, who is maintained to be the supreme God; whence it follows, that wherever similar phrases are applied to the Son of God, in which he is distinctly declared to be inferior to the Father, they ought to be understood in reference to his divine as well as to his human character. For what those, who believe in the Holy Spirit's co-equality with the Father, deem to be not unworthy of him, cannot be considered unworthy of the Son, however exalted may be the dignity of his Godhead. Wherefore it remains now to be seen on what grounds, and by what arguments, we are constrained to believe that the Holy Spirit is God, if Scripture nowhere expressly teach the doctrine of his divinity, not even in the passages where his office is explained at large, nor in those where the unity of God is explicitly asserted, as in *John* xvii. 3. *1 Cor.* viii. 4, &c. nor where God is either described, or introduced as sitting upon his throne,—if, further, the Spirit be frequently named the Spirit of God, and the Holy Spirit of God, *Eph.* iv. 30. so that the Spirit of God being actually and numerically distinct from God himself, cannot possibly be essentially one God with him whose Spirit he is, (except on certain strange and absurd hypotheses,

which have no foundation in Holy Scripture, but were devised by human ingenuity for the sole purpose of supporting this particular doctrine)—if, wherever the Father and the Holy Spirit are mentioned together, the Father alone be called God, and the Father alone, omitting all notice of the Spirit, be acknowledged by Christ himself to be the one true God, as has been proved in the former chapter by abundant testimony ; if he be God who ‘stablisheth us in Christ,’ who ‘hath anointed us,’ who ‘hath sealed us,’ and ‘given us the earnest of the Spirit,’ *2 Cor. i. 22.* if that God be one God, and that one God the Father ; if, finally ‘God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying Abba, Father,’ *Gal. iv. 6.* whence it follows that he who sent both the Spirit of his Son and the Son himself, he on whom we are taught to call, and on whom the Spirit himself calls, is the one God and the only Father. It seems exceedingly unreasonable, not to say dangerous, that in a matter of so much difficulty, believers should be required to receive a doctrine, represented by its advocates as of primary importance and of undoubted certainty, on anything less than the clearest testimony of Scripture ; and that a point which is confessedly contrary to human reason, should nevertheless be considered as susceptible of proof from human reason only, or rather from doubtful and obscure disputations.

First, then, it is usual to defend the divinity of the Holy Spirit on the ground, that the name of God seems to be attributed to the Spirit : *Acts v. 3, 4.* ‘why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost ?....thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.’ But if attention be paid to what has been stated be-



fore respecting the Holy Ghost on the authority of the Son, this passage will appear too weak for the support of so great a doctrinal mystery. For since the Spirit is expressly said to be sent by the Father, and in the name of the Son, he who lies to the Spirit must lie to God, in the same sense as he who receives an apostle, receives God who sent him, *Mitt. x. 40. John xiii 20.\** St. Paul himself removes all ground of controversy from this passage, and explains it most appositely by implication, 1 *Thess. iv. 8.* where his intention is evidently to express the same truth more at large: ‘he therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit.’ Besides, it may be doubted whether the Holy Spirit in this passage does not signify God the Father;† for Peter afterwards says, v. 9. ‘how is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?’ that is, God the Father himself, and his divine intelligence, which no one can elude or deceive. And in v. 32. the Holy Spirit is not called God, but a witness of Christ with the apostles, ‘whom God hath given

\* Clarke, as might be expected, gives the same explanation of the passage, (*Scripture Doctrine*, Part I. Sect 2. No. 66.) also quoting 1 *Thess. iv. 8.* He supports his opinion on the authority of Athanasius. “Ὅτις ὁ ψευδόμενος τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, τῷ Θεῷ ἐψεύσεται, τῷ κατακυλῶντι ἐν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ· ἵνα γὰρ ἴσται τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἴσται ὁ Θεός. ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ, φησί, γινώσκουμεν ὅτι ὁ Θεός ἐν ἡμῖν μένει διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ δίδωναι ἡμῖν. De Incarnat. Verbi, et contra Arianos.

† There is some error in this passage in the manuscript, where it is written thus: ‘Quicquid incertum est annon hoc loco Spiritus Sanctus Deum Patrem significat: idem enim Petrus, &c.’ Unless we suppose that some words have fallen out, the sentence may be corrected by a very slight alteration:—Quid, quod incertum est annon hoc loco Spiritus Sanctus Deum Patrem significet? idem, &c. I have followed this conjecture in the translation, as it is a form of sentence very frequently used in other parts of the treatise.

to them that obey him.' So also *Acts* ii. 38. 'ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost,' given, that is, by God. But how can the gift of God be himself God, much more the supreme God?

The second passage is *Acts* xxviii. 25. compared with *Isai.* vi. 8, 9. 'I heard the voice of the Lord, saying'—&c. .... 'well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet,' &c. See also *Jer.* xxxi. 31. compared with *Heb.* x. 15. But it has been shewn above, that the names Lord and Jehovah are throughout the Old Testament attributed to whatever angel God may entrust with the execution of his commands; and in the New Testament the Son himself openly testifies of the Holy Spirit, *John* xvi. 13. that 'he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak.' It cannot therefore be inferred from this passage, any more than from the preceding, that the Holy Ghost is God.

The third place is *1 Cor.* iii. 16. compared with vi. 19. and *2 Cor.* vi. 16. 'the temple of God'.... 'the temple of the Holy Ghost.' But neither is it here said, nor does it in any way follow from hence, that the Holy Spirit is God; for it is not because the Spirit alone, but because the Father also and the Son 'make their abode with us,' that we are called 'the temple of God.' Therefore in *1 Cor.* vi. 19. where we are called 'the temple of the Holy Ghost,' Paul has added, 'which ye have of God,' as if with the purpose of guarding against any error which might arise respecting the Holy Spirit in consequence of his expression. How then can it be deduced from this passage, that he whom we have of God, is God himself? In what sense we are called 'the temple of the

Holy Ghost,' the same apostle has explained more fully *Eph.* ii. 22. 'in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.'

The next evidence which is produced for this purpose, is the ascription of the divine attributes to the Spirit. And first, Omniscience; as if the Spirit were altogether of the same essence with God. *1 Cor.* ii. 10, 11. 'the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God: for what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.' With regard to the tenth verse, I reply, that in the opinion of divines,\* the question here is not respecting the divine omniscience, but only respecting those deep things 'which God hath revealed unto us by his Spirit'—the words immediately preceding. Besides, the phrase 'all things' must be restricted to mean whatever it is expedient for us to know: not to mention that it would be absurd to speak of God searching God, with whom he was one in essence. Next, with regard to the eleventh verse, the essence of the spirit is not the subject in question; for the consequences would be full of absurdity, if it were to be understood that the Spirit of God was with regard to God, as the spirit of a man is with regard to man. Allusion therefore is made only to the intimate relationship and communion of the Spirit with God, from whom he originally proceeded. That no doubt may remain as to the truth of this interpretation, the following verse is of the same import: 'we have received.....the Spirit which is of God.' That

\* So Beza and Grotius explain the passage.

which is of God, cannot be actually God, who is unity. The Son himself disallows the omniscience of the Spirit still more plainly. *Matt.* xi. 27. 'no man knoweth the Son, but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.' What then becomes of the Holy Spirit? for according to this passage, no third person whatever knoweth either the Father or the Son, except through their medium. *Mark* xiii. 32. 'of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.' If not even the Son himself, who is also in heaven, then certainly not the Spirit of the Son, who receiveth all things from the Son himself; *John* xvi. 14.

Secondly, Omnipresence, on the ground that 'the Spirit of God dwelleth in us.' But even if it filled with its presence the whole circle of the earth, with all the heavens, that is, the entire fabrick of this world, it would not follow that the Spirit is omnipresent. For why should not the Spirit easily fill with the influence of its power, what the Sun fills with its light; though it does not necessarily follow that we are to believe it infinite? If that lying spirit, *1 Kings* xxii. 22. were able to fill four hundred prophets at once, how many thousands ought we not to think the Holy Spirit capable of pervading, even without the attributes of infinity or immensity?

Thirdly, divine works. *Acts* ii. 4. 'the Spirit gave them utterance.' xiii. 2. 'the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work.' *Acts* xx. 28. 'the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers to feed the church of God.' *2 Pet.* i. 21. 'holy men of

God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' A single remark will suffice for the solution of all these passages, if it be only remembered what was the language of Christ respecting the Holy Spirit, the Comforter ; namely, that he was sent by the Son from the Father, that he spake not of himself, nor in his own name, and consequently, that he did not act in his own name ; therefore that he did not even move others to speak of his own power, but that what he gave he had himself received. Again, 1 *Cor.* xii. 11. the Spirit is said to 'divide to every man severally as he will.' In answer to this it may be observed, that the Spirit himself is also said to be divided to each according to the will of God the Father, *Heb.* ii. 4. and that even 'the wind bloweth where it listeth,' *John* iii. 8. With regard to the annunciation made to Joseph and Mary, that the Holy Spirit was the author of the miraculous conception, *Matt.* i. 18, 20. *Luke* i. 35. it is not to be understood with reference to his own person alone. For it is certain that, in the Old Testament, under the name of the Spirit of God, or of the Holy Spirit, either God the Father himself, or his divine power was signified ; nor had Joseph and Mary at that time heard anything of any other Holy Spirit, inasmuch as the personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit are not acknowledged by the Jews even to the present day. Accordingly, in both the passages quoted, πνεῦμα ἅγιον is without the customary article ; or if this be not considered as sufficiently decisive, the angel speaks in a more circumstantial manner in *St. Luke* ; 'the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee ; therefore that holy thing which

shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God,'—that is, of the Father: unless we suppose that there are two Fathers,—one Father of the Son of God, another Father of the Son of man.

Fourthly, divine honours. *Matt.* xxviii. 19. 'baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Here mention is undoubtedly made of three persons; but there is not a word that determines the divinity, or unity, or equality of these three. For we read, *Matt.* x. 41. *John* xiii. 20. of receiving a prophet in the name of a prophet, and a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, and of giving a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple; which evidently means nothing more, than because he is a prophet, or a righteous man, or a disciple. Thus too the Israelites 'were baptized unto Moses,' 1 *Cor.* x. 2. that is, unto the law or doctrine of Moses; and 'unto the baptism of John,' occurs in the same sense, *Acts* xix. 3. and 'in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins,' *Acts* ii. 38. and 'into Jesus Christ,' and 'into his death,' *Rom.* vi. 3. and 'into one body,' 1 *Cor.* xii. 13. To be baptized therefore *in their name*, is to be admitted to those benefits and gifts which we have received through the Son and the Holy Spirit. Hence Paul rejoiced that no one could say he had been baptized in his name, 1 *Cor.* i. 13—15. It was not the imputation of making himself God that he feared, but that of affecting greater authority than was suitable to his character. From all which it is clear that when we are baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, this is not done to impress upon our minds the inherent or relative natures of these three

persons, but the benefits conferred by them in baptism on those who believe,—namely, that our eternal salvation is owing to the Father, our redemption to the Son, and our sanctification to the Spirit. The power of the Father is inherent in himself, that of the Son and the Spirit is received from the Father ; for it has been already proved on the authority of the Son, that the Son does every thing in the name of the Father, and the Spirit every thing in the name of the Father and the Son ; and a confirmation of the same truth may be derived from the words immediately preceding the verse under discussion ; *v.* 18. ‘ all power is given unto me....go ye therefore....baptizing in the name,’ &c. and still more plainly by *1 Cor.* vi. 11. ‘ but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.’ Here the same three are mentioned as in baptism, ‘ the Son,’ ‘ the Spirit,’ and ‘ our God ;’ it follows therefore, that the Father alone is our God, of whom are both the Son and the Spirit.

But invocation is made to the Spirit. *2 Cor.* xiii. 14. ‘ the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all.’ This, however, is not so much an invocation as a benediction, in which the Spirit is not addressed as a person, but sought as a gift from him who alone is there called God, namely, the Father, from whom Christ himself directs us to seek the communication of the Spirit. *Luke* xi. 13. If the Spirit were ever to be invoked personally, it would be then especially, when we pray for him ; yet we are commanded not to ask him of himself, but only of

the Father. Why do we not call upon the Spirit himself, if he be God, to give himself to us? He who is sought from the Father, and given by him, not by himself, can neither be God, nor an object of invocation. The same form of benediction occurs *Gen.* xlviii. 15, 16. 'the God before whom my fathers did walk....the angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads : ' and *Rev.* i. 4. ' grace be unto you, and peace from him which is....and from the seven spirits.' It is clear that in this passage the seven spirits, of whom more will be said hereafter, are not meant to be invoked. Besides that in this benediction the order or dignity of the things signified should be considered, rather than that of the persons ; for it is by the Son that we come to the Father, from whom finally the Holy Spirit is sent. So *1 Cor.* xii. 4—6. ' there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit : and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord : and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.' Here the three are again mentioned in an inverse order ; but it is one God which worketh all in all, even in the Son and the Spirit, as we are taught throughout the whole of Scripture.

Hence it appears that what is said *Matt.* xii. 31. 32, has no reference to the personality of the Holy Spirit. For if to sin against the Holy Spirit were worse than to sin against the Father and Son, and if that alone were an unpardonable sin, the Spirit truly would be greater than the Father and the Son. The words must therefore apply to that illumination, which, as it is highest in degree, so it is last in order of time, whereby the Father enlightens us through the Spirit,



and which if any one resist, no method of salvation remains open to him. I am inclined to believe, however, that it is the Father himself who is here called the Holy Spirit, by whose *Spirit*, v. 28, or *finger*, *Luke* xi. 20. Christ professed to cast out devils; when therefore the Pharisees accused him falsely of acting in concert with Beelzebub, they are declared to sin unpardonably, because they said of him who had the Spirit of his Father, 'he hath an unclean spirit,' *Mark* iii. 30. Besides, it was to the Pharisees that he spoke thus, who acknowledged no other Spirit than the Father himself. If this be the true interpretation of the passage, which will not be doubted by any one who examines the whole context from v. 24 to v. 32. that dreaded sin against the Holy Spirit will be in reality a sin against the Father, who is the Spirit of holiness; of which he would be guilty, who should affirm that the Spirit of the Father which was working in Christ was the prince of the devils, or an unclean spirit;—as Mark clearly shows in the passage quoted above.

But the Spirit bestows grace and blessing upon the churches in conjunction with the Father and the Son; *Rev.* i. 4, 5. 'grace be unto you and peace from him which is....and from the seven spirits which are before his throne, and from Jesus Christ.' It is clear, however, that the Holy Spirit is not here meant to be implied; the number of the spirits is inconsistent with such a supposition, as well as the place which they are said to occupy, standing like angels before the throne. See also iv. 5. and v. 6. where the same spirits are called 'seven lamps of fire burning before the throne,' and the 'seven horns' and

‘seven eyes’ of the Lamb. Those who reduce these spirits to one Holy Spirit, and consider them as synonymous with his sevenfold grace, (an opinion which is deservedly refuted by Beza,\*) ought to beware, lest, by attributing to mere virtues the properties of persons, they furnish arguments to those commentators who interpret the Holy Spirit as nothing more than the virtue and power of the Father.† This may suffice to convince us, that in this kind of threefold enumerations the sacred writers have no view whatever to the doctrine of three divine persons, or to the equality or order of those persons;—not even in that verse which has been mentioned above, and on which commentators in general lay so much stress, 1 *John* v. 7. ‘there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one,’ where there is in reality

\* ‘Dei majestati adjungit suos stipatores, non tamen quasi illos ulla in parte Deo exæquet, vel cum Christo conferat, sicut etiam Paulus testes una citat Deum, Christum, et angelos, 1 *Tim.* v. 21. Nam quod septem hos spiritus nonnulli pro Spiritu Sancto acceperunt, cujus septiformis, ut loquuntur, sit gratia, manifeste refelli potest vel ex eo quod scribitur infra v. 5, 6. At ne quis hoc loco offendatur, quasi ad istos spiritus aliquid transferatur quod ad Deitatem tantum pertineat, vel quasi Christus istis spiritibus subjiciatur, considerentur divina elogia quæ paulo post tribuuntur Christo Unius enim Dei est, et quidem qui homo sit factus, sanguine suo ablueri mundi peccata; neque usquam angelis gloria et robor æternum tribuitur, sed hoc ipsum est quod angeli Dei acclamant. Christus ergo ut Deus hic describitur; septem autem isti spiritus ut ministri ante thronum collocantur; ergo etiam coram Christo, ut qui Deo Patri assideat. Denique ut nemo de hoc possit ambigere, iidem isti septem Spiritus infra v. 5, 6. *Agni cornua et oculi*, id est, ministri, dicuntur.’ Beza ad Apoc. i. 4.

† According to the doctrine of the Socinians. ‘Respondemus Spiritum Sanctum quidem per se, et, ut in scholis loquuntur, abstracte sumptum, qualitatem re vera esse, non substantiam.’ Crellius, in answer to the question ‘an Spiritus Sanctus substantia quædam sit, an vero mera tantum qualitas a Deo profecta.’

nothing which implies either divinity or unity of essence. As to divinity, God is not the only one who is said to bear record in heaven ; 1 *Tim.* v. 21. ‘ I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels,’—where it might have been expected that the Holy Spirit would have been named in the third place, if such ternary forms of expression really contained the meaning which is commonly ascribed to them. What kind of unity is intended, is sufficiently plain from the next verse, in which ‘ the spirit, the water, and the blood ’ are mentioned, which ‘ are to bear record to one,’ or ‘ to that one thing.’ Beza himself, who is generally a staunch defender of the Trinity, understands the phrase *unum sunt* to mean, *agree in one*.<sup>\*</sup> What it is that they testify, appears in the fifth and sixth verses—namely, that ‘ he that overcometh the world is he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God, even Jesus Christ,’ that is, *the anointed* ; therefore he is not one with, nor equal to, him that anointed him. Thus the very record that they bear is inconsistent with the essential unity of the witnesses, which is attempted to be deduced from the passage. For the Word is both the Son and Christ, that is, as has been said, *the anointed* ; and as he is the image, as it were, by which we see God, so is he the word by which we hear him. But if such be his nature, he cannot be essentially one with God, whom no one can see or hear. The same has been already proved, by other arguments, with regard to the Spirit ; it follows, therefore, that these three are not one in essence. I say nothing of the suspicion of spuriousness attached to the pas-

<sup>\*</sup> See page 125, note.

sage, which is a matter of criticism rather than of doctrine. Further, I would ask whether there is one Spirit that bears record in heaven, and another which bears record in earth, or whether both are the same Spirit. If the same, it is extraordinary that we nowhere else read of his bearing witness in heaven, although his witness has been always most conspicuously manifested in earth, that is, in our hearts. Christ certainly brings forward himself and his Father as the only witnesses of himself, *John* viii. 16, 19. Why then, in addition to two other perfectly competent witnesses, should the Spirit twice bear witness to the same thing? On the other hand, if it be another Spirit, we have here a new and unheard of doctrine. There are besides other circumstances, which in the opinion of many render the passage suspicious; and yet it is on the authority of this text, almost exclusively, that the whole doctrine of the Trinity has been hastily adopted.

Lest however we should be altogether ignorant who or what the Holy Spirit is, although Scripture nowhere teaches us in express terms, it may be collected from the passages quoted above, that the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as he is a minister of God, and therefore a creature, was created or produced of the substance of God, not by a natural necessity, but by the free will of the agent, probably, before the foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son, and far inferior to him. It will be objected, that thus the Holy Spirit is not sufficiently distinguished from the Son. I reply, that the Scriptural expressions themselves, 'to come forth,' 'to go out from the Father,' 'to proceed from the Father,' which

mean the same in the Greek, do not distinguish the Son from the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as these terms are used indiscriminately with reference to both persons, and signify their mission, not their nature. There is however sufficient reason for placing the name as well as the nature of the Son above that of the Holy Spirit in the discussion of topics relative to the Deity ; inasmuch as the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, are said to have been impressed on the one, and not on the other.

## CHAPTER VII.

### OF THE CREATION.

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**T**HE second species of external efficiency is commonly called *Creation*. As to the actions of God before the foundation of the world, it would be the height of folly to inquire into them, and almost equally so to attempt a solution of the question.\* With regard to the account which is generally given from 1 *Cor.* ii. 7. ‘ he ordained his wisdom in a mystery, even the hidden mystery which God ordained before the world,’—or, as it is explained, that he was occupied with election and reprobation, and with decreeing other things relative to these subjects,—it is not imaginable that God should have been wholly occupied from eternity in decreeing that which was to be created in a period of six days, and which, after having

\* Milton elsewhere alludes to the less serious employments of the Deity before the creation of the world, referring to *Prov.* viii. 24, 25, 30. ‘ God himself conceals us not his own recreations before the world was built; “ I was,” saith the eternal Wisdom, “ daily his delight, playing always before him.” ’ *Tetrachordon*. *Prose Works*, II. 138. And again,

Before the hills appear’d, or fountain flow’d,  
Thou with eternal Wisdom didst converse,  
Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst play  
In presence of th’ Almighty Father, pleas’d  
With thy celestial song. *Paradise Lost*, VII. 8.

been governed in divers manners for a few thousand years, was finally to be received into an immutable state with himself, or to be rejected from his presence for all eternity.

✓ That the world was created, is an article of faith ; *Heb. xi. 3.* ‘through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God.’

*Creation* is that act whereby *God the Father produced every thing that exists by his Word and Spirit*, that is, *by his will, for the manifestation of the glory of his power and goodness.*

*Whereby God the Father. Job. ix. 8.* ‘which alone spreadeth out the heavens, *Isai. xlv. 24.* ‘I am Jehovah that maketh all things : that stretcheth forth the heavens alone ; that spreadeth abroad the earth by myself. *xlv. 6, 7.* ‘that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me : I am Jehovah, and there is none else : I form the light, and create darkness.’ If there be any thing like a common meaning, or universally received usage of words, this language not only precludes the possibility of there being any other God, but also of there being any co-equal person, of any kind whatever. *Neh. ix. 6.* ‘thou art Jehovah alone ; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens.’ *Mal. ii. 10.* ‘have we not all one Father ? hath not one God created us ?’ Hence Christ himself says, *Matt. xi. 25.* ‘I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth.’ So too all the apostles, *Acts iv. 24.* compared with *v. 27.* ‘Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is....the kings of the earth stood up....against the holy child Jesus.’ *Rom. xi. 36.* ‘for of him, and through

him, and to him are all things.' 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. 'to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things.' 2 *Cor.* iv. 6. 'for God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.' *Heb.* ii. 10. 'him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things.' iii. 4. 'he that built all things is God.'

*By his Word.* *Gen.* i. throughout the whole chapter—'God said.' *Psal.* xxxiii. 6. 'by the word of Jehovah were the heavens made.' v. 9. 'for he spake, and it was done.' cxlviii. 5. 'he commanded, and they were created.' 2 *Pet.* iii. 5. 'by the word of God the heavens were of old,'—that is, as is evident from other passages, by the Son, who appears hence to derive his title of Word. *John* i. 3, 10. 'all things were made by him : by him the world was made.' 1 *Cor.* viii. 6. 'to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things.' *Eph.* iii. 9. 'who created all things by Jesus Christ.' *Col.* i. 16. 'by him were all things created.' *Heb.* i. 2. 'by whom also he made the worlds ;' whence it is said, v. 10. 'thou hast laid the foundation of the earth.' The proposition *per* sometimes signifies the primary cause, as *Matt.* xii. 28. 'I cast out devils (*per Spiritum*) by the Spirit of God.' 1 *Cor.* i. 9. 'God is faithful, (*per quem*) by whom ye are called,'—sometimes the instrumental, or less principal cause, as in the passages quoted above, where it cannot be taken as the primary cause, for if so, the Father himself, of whom are all things, would not be the primary cause ; nor is it the joint cause, for in such case it would have been said



that the Father created all things, not by, but with the Word and Spirit ; or collectively, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit created ; which phrases are nowhere to be found in Scripture. Besides, the expressions *to be of the Father*, and *to be by the Son*, do not denote the same kind of efficient cause. If it be not the same cause, neither is it a joint cause ; and if not a joint cause, certainly the Father, of whom are all things, must be the principal cause, rather than the Son by whom are all things ; for the Father is not only he *of* whom, but also from whom, and for whom, and through whom, and on account of whom are all things, as has been proved above, inasmuch as he comprehends within himself all lesser causes ; whereas the Son is only he by whom are all things ;\* wherefore he is the less principal cause. Hence it is often said that the Father created the world by the Son,†—but never, in the same sense, that the Son created the world by the Father. It is however sometimes attempted to be proved from *Rev. iii. 14.* that the Son was the joint, or even the principal cause of the creation with the Father ; ‘ the beginning of the creation of God ;’ where the word *beginning* is interpreted

\* For an answer to this assertion, and indeed with reference to the whole of this chapter, see Waterland’s *Second Sermon in defence of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ*, where he proves that Christ is properly Creator.

† He Heaven of Heavens and all the Powers therein  
By thee created.— *Paradise Lost*, III. 390.

..... By whom,  
As by his Word, the mighty Father made  
All things, ev’n thee ; and all the Spirits of Heaven  
By him created in their bright degrees. V. 835.

in an active sense, on the authority of Aristotle.\* But in the first place, the Hebrew language, whence the expression is taken, nowhere admits of this sense, but rather requires a contrary usage, as *Gen. xlix. 3.* 'Reuben, thou art....the beginning of my strength.' Secondly, there are two passages in St. Paul referring to Christ himself, which clearly prove that the word *beginning* is here used in a passive signification. *Col. i. 15, 18.* 'the first born of every creature,.... the beginning, the first born from the dead,'—where the position of the Greek accent,† and the passive verbal *πρωτότοκος*, show that the Son of God was the first born of every creature precisely in the same sense as the Son of Man was the first born of Mary, *πρωτότοκος*, *Matt. i. 25.* The other passage is *Rom. viii. 29.* 'first born among many brethren;' that is, in a passive signification. Lastly, it should be remarked, that he is not called simply 'the beginning of the creation,' but 'of the creation of God;' which can mean nothing else than the first of those things which God created; how therefore can he be himself God? Nor can we admit the reason devised by some of the Fathers‡ for his being called, *Col. i. 15.* 'the first born of every creature,'—namely, because it is said *v. 16.* 'by him all things were created.' For had St.

\* See Aristotle's *Metaphys. iv. 1.* Milton alludes to the same interpretation in his logical work. 'Hinc causa proprie dicta, principium quoque nominatur a Cic. *L. de Nat. Deorum*, sed frequentius apud Græcos.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*, &c. *Prose Works*, VI. 205.

† In allusion to the opinion of Isidore Pelusiota, Erasmus, and others (with whom Michaelis agrees, *Annotat. ad Paraphr. ad Col. i. 15.*) that it should not be read *πρωτότοκος*, *primogenitus*, but *πρωτότοκος*, *primus genitor*.

‡ Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian (*contra Marcionem*, lib. v.) Novatian. See also Athanasius, *Orat. ii. contra Arianos*.

Paul intended to convey the meaning supposed, he would have said, 'who was before every creature,' (which is what these Fathers contend the words signify, though not without violence to the language) not, 'who was the first born of every creature,' an expression which clearly has a superlative, and at the same time to a certain extent partitive sense, in so far as production may be considered as a kind of generation and creation; but by no means in so far as the title of first born among men may be here applied to Christ, seeing that he is termed first born, not only in respect of dignity, but also of time. v. 16. 'for by him were all things created that are in heaven.'

Nor is the passage in *Prov.* viii. 22, 23. of more weight, even if it be admitted that the chapter in general is to be understood with reference to Christ: 'Jehovah possessed me in the beginning of his way before his works of old: I was set up from everlasting.\* For that which was 'possessed' and 'set up,' could not be the primary cause. Even a creature, however, is called the beginning of the ways of God, *Job* xl. 19. 'he (*behemoth*) is the chief (*principium*) of the ways of God.' As to the eighth chapter of Proverbs, it appears to me that it is not the son of God who is there introduced as the speaker, but a poetical personification of wisdom, as in *Job* xxviii. 20—27. 'whence then cometh wisdom?—then did he see it.'

Another argument is brought from *Isai.* xlv. 12, 23. 'I have made the earth....unto me every knee shall bow.' It is contended that this is spoken of Christ,

\* See Waterland's *Seventh Sermon on Christ's Divinity, &c.* Works, Vol. II. 144.

on the authority of St. Paul, *Rom.* xiv. 10, 11. 'we shall all stand before the judgement seat of Christ: for it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me.' But it is evident from the parallel passage *Philipp.* ii. 9—11. that this is said of God the Father, by whose gift the Son has received that judgement seat and all judgement, 'that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow....to the glory of God the Father;' or, which means the same thing, 'every tongue shall confess to God.'

*And Spirit.* *Gen.* i. 2. 'the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters;\*' that is, his divine power, rather than any person, as has been already shown in the sixth chapter, on the Holy Spirit. For if it were a person, why is the Spirit named, to the exclusion of the Son, by whom we so often read that the world was created? unless indeed that Spirit were Christ, to whom, as has been before proved, the name of Spirit is sometimes given in the Old Testament. However this may be, and even if it should be admitted to have been a person, it seems at all events to have been only a subordinate minister: God is first described as creating the heaven and the earth; the

\* *Spiritus Dei incubabat.* The word *incubabat* properly signifies *brooded*, as a bird over her eggs; and the beauty of the original image, which is not retained in our authorized translation, has been twice preserved with great effect in the *Paradise Lost*.

..... Thou from the first  
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread  
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,  
And mad'st it pregnant. I. 19.

..... On the wat'ry calm  
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,  
And vital virtue infus'd, and vital warmth  
Throughout the fluid mass. VII. 234.

Spirit is only represented as moving upon the face of the waters already created. So *Job* xxvi. 13. 'by his Spirit he hath garnished the heavens,' *Psal.* xxxiii. 6. 'by the word of Jehovah were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath (*spiritu*) of his mouth.' Now the person of the Spirit does not seem to have proceeded more from the mouth of God than from that of Christ, who 'shall consume that wicked one with the spirit of his mouth,' *2 Thess.* ii. 8. compared with *Isai.* xi. 4. 'the rod of his mouth.'

*By his will.* *Psal.* cxxxv. 6. 'whatsoever Jehovah pleased, that did he in heaven and earth.' *Rev.* iv. 11. 'for thy pleasure they are and were created.'

*For the manifestation of the glory of his power and goodness.* *Gen.* i. 31. 'God saw every thing that he had made, and behold, it was very good.' See also *1 Tim.* iv. 4. *Psal.* xix. 1. 'the heavens declare the glory of God.' *Prov.* xvi. 4. 'Jehovah hath made all things for himself.' *Acts* xiv. 15. 'that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God which made heaven and earth and the sea, and all things that are therein.' xvii. 24. 'God that made the world and all things therein.' *Rom.* i. 20. 'for his eternal power and Godhead are clearly seen.'

Thus far it has appeared that God the Father is the primary and efficient cause of all things. With regard to the original matter of the universe, however, there has been much difference of opinion.\* Most

\* The object of the next pages is to prove that the world was not created out of nothing. An intimation of this opinion occurs incidentally in *Paradise Lost*.

..... Fool, not to think how vain  
Against th' Omnipotent to rise in arms :

of the moderns contend that it was formed from nothing, a basis as unsubstantial as that of their own theory.\* In the first place, it is certain that neither the Hebrew verb  $\text{אֵצַב}$ , nor the Greek  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , nor the Latin *creare*, can signify to create out of nothing.† On the contrary, these words uniformly signify to create out of matter. *Gen.* 1. 21, 27. 'God created ....every living creature which the waters brought forth abundantly....male and female created he them.' *Isai.* liv. 16. 'behold, I have created the smith....I have created the waster to destroy.' To allege, therefore, that creation signifies production out of nothing, is, as logicians say, to lay down premises without a proof; for the passages of Scripture commonly quoted for this purpose, are so far from confirming the received opinion, that they rather imply the contrary, namely, that all things were not made out of nothing. *2 Cor.* iv. 6. 'God, who commanded the

Who out of smallest things could without end  
Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat  
Thy folly. VI. 135.

where Newton rightly observes, that Milton did not favour the opinion that the creation was out of nothing.

\* So Drusius, Paulus Fagius, Estius, &c, and nearly all the English commentators. Tillotson takes occasion to reply to the objections raised against the doctrine, in his sermon *On the Power of God*, from *Psalm* lxii. 11. With regard to the opinion of the Fathers, Lactantius says, (*De Orig. Error.* lib. ii.) 'Nemo quærat ex quibus ista materiis tam magna, tam mirifica opera Deus fecerit; omnia enim *fecit ex nihilo*.' Tertullian, (*Advers. Hermog.* cap. xlv.) 'Igitor in quantum constitit materiam nullam fuisse, ex hoc etiam quod nec talem competat fuisse qualis inducitur, in tantum probatur omnia a Deo *ex nihilo facta*.' Justin. (*Aristotel. Dogm. evers.*)  $\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\ \eta\ \theta\lambda\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma, \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \delta\ \Theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma, \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\ \Theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\alpha\iota\ \tau\iota, \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\iota\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\ \Theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma, \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\alpha\iota\ \tau\iota.$

† See this argument answered by Beveridge, *Exposition of the First Article*, Works, Vol. IX. p. 50.

light to shine out of darkness.' That this darkness was far from being a mere negation, is clear from *Isai.* xlv. 7. 'I am Jehovah ; I form the light, and create darkness.' If the darkness be nothing, God in creating darkness created nothing, or in other words, he created and did not create, which is a contradiction. Again, what we are required 'to understand through faith' respecting 'the worlds,' is merely this, that 'the things which were seen were not made of things which do appear,' *Heb.* xi. 3. Now 'the things which do not appear' are not to be considered as synonymous with nothing, (for nothing does not admit of a plural, nor can a thing be made and compacted together out of nothing, as out of a number of things)\* but the meaning is, that they do not appear as they now are. The apocryphal writers, whose authority may be considered as next to that of the Scriptures, speak to the same effect. *Wisd.* xi. 17. 'thy almighty hand that made the world of matter without form.' 2 *Macc.* vii. 28. 'God made the earth and all that is therein of things that were not.' The expression in *Matt.* ii. 18. may be quoted, 'the children of Rachel are not.' This, however, does not mean properly that they are nothing, but that (according to a common Hebraism) they are no longer amongst the living.

X/ It is clear then that the world was framed out of matter of some kind or other. For since action and passion are relative terms, and since, consequently,

\* There seems to be an error in the Latin MS. in this passage. It stands thus—*neque compingi ex multis tanquam ex nihilo quicquam potest.* It is probable that a confusion has arisen in the arrangement of the words, and that they ought to have been written as follows—*neque compingi ex nihilo tanquam ex multis quicquam potest.*

no agent can act externally, unless there be some patient, such as matter, it appears impossible that God could have created this world out of nothing ; not from any defect of power on his part, but because it was necessary that something should have previously existed capable of receiving passively the exertion of the divine efficacy. Since, therefore, both Scripture and reason concur in pronouncing that all these things were made, not out of nothing, but out of matter, it necessarily follows, that matter must either have always existed independently of God, or have originated from God at some particular point of time. That matter should have been always independent of God, (seeing that it is only a passive principle, dependent on the Deity, and subservient to him ; and seeing, moreover, that, as in number, considered abstractly, so also in time or eternity there is no inherent force or efficacy) that matter, I say, should have existed of itself from all eternity, is inconceivable. If on the contrary it did not exist from all eternity, it is difficult to understand from whence it derives its origin. There remains, therefore, but one solution of the difficulty, for which moreover we have the authority of Scripture, namely, that all things are of God.\* *Rom. xi. 36.* 'for of

\* I am by no means confident that I have succeeded in conveying the meaning intended to have been expressed by Milton in the preceding sentences. In the original the passage is evidently corrupt, and it is not very easy to propose satisfactory emendations. I have ventured to translate it on the supposition that it was originally written and pointed thus:—*Ut extra Deum semper fuerit materia (quamvis principium tantummodo passivum sit, a Deo pendeat, eique subserviat; quamvis ut numeri, ita et ævi, vel sempiterni, nulla vis, nulla apud se efficacia sit) tamen ut ab æterno, inquam, per se materia extiterit intelligi non potest; nec si ab æterno non fuit, unde tandem fuerit intellectu est facilius; restat igitur hoc solum, præunte præsertim scriptura, fuisse omnia ex Deo.*



him, and through him, and to him are all things.' 1 Cor. viii. 6. 'there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things:' where the same Greek preposition is used in both cases. Heb ii. 11. 'for both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one.'

✓ In the first place, there are, as is well known to all, four kinds of causes,—*efficient, material, formal, and final*.\* Inasmuch then as God is the primary, and absolute, and sole cause of all things, there can be no doubt but that he comprehends and embraces within himself all the causes above-mentioned. Therefore the material cause must be either God, or nothing. Now nothing is no cause at all; and yet it is contended that forms, and above all, that human forms, were created out of nothing. But matter and form, considered as internal causes, constitute the thing itself; so that either all things must have had two causes only, and those external, or God will not have been the perfect and absolute cause of every thing. Secondly, it is an argument of supreme power and goodness, that such diversified, multiform, and inexhaustible virtue should exist and be *substantially* inherent in God (for that virtue cannot be *accidental* which admits of degrees, and of augmentation or remission, according to his pleasure) and that this diversified and substantial virtue should not remain dor-

\* 'Quot autem modis alicujus vi res est, tot esse species causæ statuendum est: Modis autem quatuor alicujus vi res est; ut recte Aristot. Phys. II. 7. et nos supra diximus; vel enim a quo, vel ex quo, vel per quod, vel propter quod res una quæque est, ejus vi esse recte dicitur. His modis nec plures inveniuntur, nec pauciores esse possunt; recte igitur causa distribuitur in causam a qua, ex qua, per quam, et propter quam, id est, efficientem, et materiam, aut formam, et finem.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*. Prose Works, VI. 205.

mant within the Deity, but should be diffused and propagated and extended as far and in such manner as he himself may will. For the original matter of which we speak, is not to be looked upon as an evil or trivial thing, but as intrinsically good, and the chief productive stock\* of every subsequent good. It was a substance, and derivable from no other source than from the fountain of every substance, though at first confused and formless, being afterwards adorned and digested into order by the hand of God.†

Those who are dissatisfied because, according to this view, substance was imperfect, must also be dissatisfied with God for having originally produced it out of nothing in an imperfect state, and without form. For what difference does it make, whether God produced it in this imperfect state out of nothing, or out of himself? By this reasoning, they only transfer that imperfection to the divine efficiency, which they are unwilling to admit can properly be attributed to sub-

\* ‘*Producendi seminarium.*’ The same word is used in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. ‘Seeing then there is a two-fold *seminary* or stock in nature, from whence are derived the issues of love and hatred,’ &c. *Prose Works*, I. 370.

† Won from the void and formless infinite.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 12.

.....  
 I saw when at his word the formless mass,  
 This world’s material mould, came to a heap:  
 Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar  
 Stood rul’d, stood vast infinitude confin’d;  
 Till at his second bidding Darkness fled,  
 Light shone, and order from disorder sprung;  
 Swift to their sev’ral quarters hasted then  
 The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire;  
 And this ethereal quintessence of Heav’n  
 Flew upward, spirited with various forms. *Ibid.* 708.

Compare also the more detailed account in Book VII. 192—275.

stance, considered as an efflux of the Deity. For why did not God create all things out of nothing in an absolutely perfect state at first? It is not true, however, that matter was in its own nature originally imperfect; it merely received embellishment from the accession of forms which are themselves material.\* And if it be asked how what is corruptible can proceed from incorruption, it may be asked in return how the virtue and efficacy of God can proceed out of nothing. Matter, like the form and nature of the angels itself, proceeded incorruptible from God; and even since the fall it remains incorruptible as far as concerns its essence.

But the same, or even a greater difficulty still remains—how that which is in its nature peccable can have proceeded (if I may so speak) from God? I ask in reply, how anything peccable can have originated from the virtue and efficacy which proceeded from God? Strictly speaking indeed it is neither matter nor form that sins; and yet having proceeded from God, and become in the power of another party, what is there to prevent them, inasmuch as they have now become mutable, from contracting taint and contamination through the enticements of the devil, or those which originate in man himself? It is objected, however, that body cannot emanate from spirit. I reply, much less then can body emanate from nothing. For spirit being the more excellent substance, virtually and essentially contains within itself the inferior one;

\* ..... one first matter all,  
Endued with various forms, various degrees  
Of substance, and in things that live, of life.

*Paradise Lost*, V. 472.

as the spiritual and rational faculty contains the corporeal, that is, the sentient and vegetative faculty.\* For not even divine virtue and efficiency could produce bodies out of nothing, according to the commonly received opinion, unless there had been some bodily power in the substance of God ; since no one can give to another what he does not himself possess. Nor did St. Paul hesitate to attribute to God something corporeal ; *Col. ii. 9.* ‘in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.’ Neither is it more incredible that a bodily power should issue from a spiritual substance, than that what is spiritual should arise from body ; which nevertheless we believe will be the case with our own bodies at the resurrection. Nor, lastly, can it be understood in what sense God can properly be called infinite, if he be capable of receiving any accession whatever ; which would be the case if any thing could exist in the nature of things, which had not first been of God and in God.

Since therefore it has (as I conceive) been satisfactorily proved, under the guidance of Scripture, that God did not produce everything out of nothing, but of himself, I proceed to consider the necessary consequence of this doctrine, namely, that if all things are not only from God, but of God, no created thing can

\* . . . . . Know that in the soul  
Are many lesser faculties, that serve  
Reason as chief. *Paradise Lost*, V. 100.  
. . . . . And food alike those pure  
Intelligential substances require,  
As doth your rational ; and both contain  
Within them every lower faculty  
Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,  
Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,  
And corporeal to incorporeal turn. *Ibid.* 407.

be finally annihilated. And not to mention that not a word is said of this annihilation in the sacred writings, there are other reasons, besides that which has been just alleged, and which is the strongest of all, why this doctrine should be altogether exploded. First, because God is neither willing, nor, properly speaking, able to annihilate anything altogether. He is not willing, because he does everything with a view to some end,—but nothing can be the end neither of God, nor of anything whatever. Not of God, because he is himself the end of himself; not of anything whatever, because good of some kind is the end of everything. Now nothing is neither good, nor in fact anything. Entity is good, non-entity consequently is not good; wherefore it is neither consistent with the goodness or wisdom of God to make out of entity, which is good, that which is not good, or nothing. Again, God is not able to annihilate anything altogether, because by creating nothing he would create and not create at the same time, which involves a contradiction. If it be said that the creative power of God continues to operate, inasmuch as he makes that not to exist which did exist; I answer, that there are two things necessary to constitute a perfect action, motion and the effect of motion: in the present instance the motion is the act of annihilation; the effect of motion is none, that is, nothing, no effect. Where there is no effect there is no efficient.

✓ Creation is either of things invisible or visible.

The things invisible, or which are at least such to us, are, the highest heaven, which is the throne and habitation of God, and the heavenly powers, or angels.

Such is the division of the apostle, *Col. i. 16*. The first place is due to things invisible, if not in respect of origin, at least of dignity. For the highest heaven is as it were the supreme citadel and habitation of God. See *Deut. xxvi. 15*. *1 Kings viii. 27, 30*, 'heaven of heavens.' *Neh. ix. 6*. *Isai. lxiii. 15*. 'far above all heavens,' *Eph. iv. 10*. where God, 'dwelleth in the light which no man can approach unto.' *1 Tim. vi. 16*.\* Out of this light it appears that pleasures and glories, and a kind of perpetual heaven, have emanated and subsist. *Psal. xvi. 11*. 'at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.' *Isai. lvii. 15*. 'the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy : I dwell in the high and holy place.'

It is improbable that God should have formed to himself such an abode for his majesty only at so recent a period as at the beginning of the world. For if there be any one habitation of God, where he diffuses in an eminent manner the glory and brightness of his majesty, why should it be thought that its foundations are only coeval with the fabrick of this world, and not of much more ancient origin? At the same time it does not follow that heaven should be eternal, nor, if eternal, that it should be God ; for it was always in the power of God to produce any effect he pleased at whatever time and in whatever manner seemed good to him. We cannot form any conception of light independent of a luminary ; but we do not therefore infer that a luminary is the same as

\* ..... God is light,  
And never but in unapproached light  
Dwelt from eternity. *Paradise Lost*, III. 3.

light, or equal in dignity. In the same manner we do not think that what are called 'the back parts' of God. *Exod.* xxxiii. are, properly speaking, God; though we nevertheless consider them to be eternal. It seems more reasonable to conceive in the same manner of the heaven of heavens, the throne and habitation of God, than to imagine that God should have been without a heaven till the first of the six days of creation.\* At the same time I give this opinion, not as venturing to determine anything certain on such a subject, but rather with a view of showing that others have been too bold in affirming that the invisible and highest heaven was made on the first day, contemporaneously with that heaven which is within our sight. For since it was of the latter heaven alone, and of the visible world, that Moses undertook to write, it would have been foreign to his purpose to have said anything of what was above the world.

In this highest heaven seems to be situated the heaven of the blessed; which is sometimes called Paradise, *Luke* xxiii. 43. *2 Cor.* xii. 2, 4. and Abraham's bosom, *Luke* xvi. 22. compared with *Matt.* viii. 11. where also God permits himself to be seen by the

\*The same opinion has been held by the Fathers, as well as by most of the moderns. 'In libro de Trinitate, sive Novatiani sive Tertulliani sit, tam mundus angelicus quam superfirmamentarius conditus dicitur ante mundum Mosaicum his verbis. *Quum etiam superioribus, id est, super ipsum quoque solidamentum partibus, angelos prius instituerit Deus, spirituales virtutes digesserit, thronos potestatesque profecerit, et alia multa cælorum immensa spatia condiderit, &c. ut hic mundus novissimum magis Dei opus esse appareat, quam solum et unicum.* Denique Catholicorum communem hanc fuisse sententiam notat Cassianus suo tempore, nempe sæculo quinto ineunte; *ante illud Genesæ temporale principium, omnes illas potestates cælestes Deum creasse, non dubium est.*' T. Burnet. *Archæol. Philos.* c. 8.

angels and saints (as far as they are capable of enduring his glory), and will unfold himself still more fully to their view at the end of the world, 1 *Cor.* xiii. 12. *John* xiv. 2, 3. 'in my father's house are many mansions.' *Heb.* xi. 10, 16. 'he looked for a city which hath foundations....they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly....for he hath prepared for them a city.'

It is generally supposed that the angels were created at the same time with the visible universe, and that they are to be considered as comprehended under the general name of *heavens*. That the angels were created at some particular period, we have the testimony of *Numb.* xvi. 22. and xxvii. 16. 'God of the spirits,' *Heb.* i. 7. *Col.* i. 16. 'by him were all things created....visible and invisible, whether they be thrones,' &c.\* But that they were created on the first, or on any one of the six days, seems to be asserted (like most received opinions) with more confi-

\*The opinion that angels were not created, but self-existent, is with great propriety attributed to Satan in *Paradise Lost*.

That we were form'd then say'st thou? and the work  
Of secondary hands, by task transferr'd  
From Father to his Son? strange point and new!  
Doctrine which we would know whence learn'd? who saw  
When this creation was? remember'st thou?  
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?  
We know no time when we were not as now;  
Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd  
By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course  
Had circled his full orb, the birth mature  
Of this our native Heav'n, ethereal sons. V. 853.

In another place Satan proposes the question as doubtful;

Whether such virtue spent of old now fail'd  
More angels to create, if they at least  
Are his created—. IX. 145.



dence than reason, chiefly on the authority of the repetition in *Gen.* ii. 1. 'thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them,'—unless we are to suppose that more was meant to be implied in the concluding summary than in the previous narration itself, and that the angels are to be considered as the host who inhabit the visible heavens. For what is said *Job* xxxviii. 7. that they shouted for joy before God at the creation, proves rather that they were then already in existence, than that they were then first created. Many at least of the Greek, and some of the Latin Fathers, are of opinion that angels, as being spirits, must have existed long before the material world;\* and it seems even probable, that the apostasy which caused the expulsion of so many thousands from heaven, took place before the foundations of this world were laid. Certainly there is no sufficient foundation for the common opinion, that motion and time (which is the measure of motion) could not, according to the ratio of priority and sub-

\* 'Plures e patribus Christianis angelos extitisse ante terram, vel ante mundum Mosaicum, per ignota nobis sæcula, statuerunt; aliqui etiam cœlos supremos, vel cœlum empyreum. Sed de angelis constantior est et a pluribus celebrata sententia. Ut mittam Origenem, hoc Sanctus Basilius in *Hexaëmero*, Chrysostomus πρὸς τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς, c. 7. πολλῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς κτίσεως ἀρχῆς, &c. Gregorius Nazianzenus *Orat.* 38. et alibi, Johannes Damascenus l. ii. *Orth. Fid.* c. 3. Joh. Philoponus *De Creatione Mundi*, l. i. c. 10. Olympiodorus in *Job* xxxviii. alique e Græcis docuere. E Latinis etiam non pauci eidem sententiæ adhæserunt. Hilarius, l. xii. *De Trinitate*; Hieronymus, Ambrosius in *Hexaëmero*, l. i. c. 5. Isidorus Hispalensis, Beda, alique.' T. Burnet. *Archæol. Philos.* l. ii. c. 8. It is observable that Milton had indirectly declared himself to have believed in the pre-existence of angels in the *Paradise Lost*, where he represents Uriel to have been present at the creation of the visible world, and puts into his mouth the beautiful description quoted in a preceding page,—'I saw when at his word the formless mass,' &c.

sequence, have existed before this world was made ; since Aristotle, who teaches that no ideas of motion and time can be formed except in reference to this world, nevertheless pronounces the world itself to be eternal.\*

Angels are spirits, *Matt.* viii. 16. and xii. 45. inas-  
much as the legion of devils is represented as having  
taken possession of one man, *Luke* viii. 30. *Heb.* i.  
14. 'ministering spirits.' They are of ethereal na-  
ture,† 1 *Kings* xxii. 21. *Psal.* civ. 4. compared with  
*Matt.* viii. 31. *Heb.* i. 7. 'as lightning,' *Luke* x. 18.  
whence also they are called Seraphim. Immortal,  
*Luke* xx. 36. 'neither can they die any more.' Ex-  
cellent in wisdom ; 2 *Sam.* xiv. 20. Most powerful  
in strength ; *Psal.* ciii. 20. 2 *Pet.* ii. 11. 2 *Kings*  
xix. 35. 2 *Thess.* i. 7. Endued with the greatest  
swiftness, which is figuratively denoted by the at-  
tribute of wings ;‡ *Ezek.* i. 6. In number almost  
infinite ; *Deut.* xxxiii. 2. *Job* xxv. 3. *Dan.* vii. 10.  
*Matt.* xxvi. 53. *Heb.* xii. 22. *Rev.* v. 11, 12.  
Created in perfect holiness and righteousness ; *Luke*  
ix. 26. *John* viii. 44. 2 *Cor.* xi. 14, 15. 'angels

\*See Aristot. *Natural. Auscult.* lib. viii. cap. 1. In reference to this  
Milton says elsewhere :

..... Time, though in eternity, applied  
To motion, measures all things durable  
By present, past, and future. *Paradise Lost*, V. 580.

† Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,  
Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend  
Ethereal as we. *Paradise Lost*, V. 499.

And when Satan receives his wound from Michael,

..... th' ethereal substance clos'd,  
Not long divisible. VI. 330.

‡ Meanwhile the winged heralds, by command  
Of sovran pow'r— L. 752.

of light....ministers of righteousness.' *Matt.* vi. 10. 'thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.' xxv. 31. 'holy angels.' Hence they are also called sons of God,\* *Job* i. 6. and xxxviii. 7. *Dan.* iii. 25. compared with v. 28. and even Gods, *Psal.* viii. 5. xcvii. 7. But they are not to be compared with God; *Job* iv. 18. 'his angels he charged with folly.' xv. 15. 'the heavens are not clean in his sight.' xxv. 5. 'yea, the stars are not pure in his sight.' *Isai.* vi. 2. 'with two wings he covered his face.'† They are distinguished one from another by offices and degrees;‡ *Matt.* xxv. 41. *Rom.* viii. 38. *Col.* i. 16. *Eph.* i. 21. and iii. 10. 1 *Pet.* iii. 22. *Rev.* xii. 7. Cherubim, *Gen.* iii. 24. Seraphim, *Isai.* vi. 2. and by proper names; *Dan.* viii. 16. ix. 21. x. 13. *Luke* i. 19. Michael, *Jude* 9. *Rev.* xii. 7. 1 *Thess.* iv. 16. 'with the voice of the Archangel.' *Josh.* v. 14. See more on this subject in the ninth chapter. To push our speculations further on this subject, is to incur the apostle's reprehension, *Col.* ii. 18. 'intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind.'

\* I came among the sons of God, when he  
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job.

*Paradise Regained*, I. 368.

† Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,  
Yet dazzle heav'n, that brightest Seraphim  
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 380.

‡ 'Yea the angels themselves, in whom no disorder is feared, as the apostle that saw them in his rapture describes, are distinguished and quaternioned into their celestial principdoms and satrapies, according as God himself has writ his imperial decrees through the great provinces of heaven.' *Reason of Church Government, &c. Prose Works*, I. 81.

The *visible creation* comprises the material universe, and all that is contained therein ; and more especially the human race.

The creation of the world in general, and of its individual parts, is related *Gen.* i. It is also described *Job* xxvi. 7, &c. and xxxviii. and in various passages of the Psalms and Prophets. *Psal.* xxxiii. 6—9. civ. cxlviii. 5. *Prov.* viii. 26, &c. *Amos* iv. 13. *2 Pet.* iii. 5. Previously, however, to the creation of man, as if to intimate the superior importance of the work, the Deity speaks like a man deliberating :\* *Gen.* i. 26. ‘ God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our own likeness.’ So that it was not the body alone that was then made, but the soul of man also (in which our likeness to God principally consists) ; which precludes us from attributing pre-existence to the soul which was then formed,—a groundless notion sometimes entertained, but refuted by *Gen.* ii. 7. ‘ God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life ; thus man became a living soul.’ *Job* xxxii. 8. ‘ there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding.’ Nor did God merely breathe that spirit into man,† but moulded it in each individual, and infused it throughout, enduing and embellishing it with its proper faculties. *Zech.* xii. 1. ‘ he formeth the spirit of man within him.’

We may understand from other passages of Scripture, that when God infused the breath of life into

\* ‘ *It is not good.* God here presents himself like to a man deliberating ; both to show us that the matter is of high consequence,’ &c. *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 127.

† Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of man

Which God inspir’d—

*Paradise Lost*, X. 704.

man, what man thereby received was not a portion of God's essence, or a participation of the divine nature, but that measure of the divine virtue or influence, which was commensurate to the capabilities of the recipient.\* For it appears from *Psal.* civ. 29, 30, that he infused the breath of life into other living beings also ;—‘ thou takest away their breath, they die....thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created ;’ whence we learn that every living thing receives animation from one and the same source of life and breath ; inasmuch as when God takes back to himself that spirit or breath of life, they cease to exist. *Eccles.* iii. 19. ‘ they have all one breath.’ Nor has the word *spirit* any other meaning in the sacred writings, but that breath of life which we inspire, or the vital, or sensitive, or rational faculty, or some action or affection belonging to those faculties.

Man having been created after this manner, it is said, as a consequence, that ‘ man became a living soul ;’† whence it may be inferred (unless we had rather take the heathen writers for our teachers respecting the nature of the soul) that man is a living being, intrinsically and properly one and individual, not compound or separable, not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct

\* ‘ Unde a quibusdam dicitur, *particula auræ divinæ*, Horat. II. Sat. ii. quod non reprehendo, modo bene intelligatur non quasi a Dei essentia, tanquam ejus pars, avulsa fuisset ; sed quod ineffabili quodam modo profluere eam ex se fecerit.’ Curcellæi *Institutio*, III. 7.

† . . . . . He form'd thee, Adam, thee, O man,  
Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd  
The breath of life ; in his own image he  
Created thee, in the image of God  
Express, and thou becam'st a living soul.

*Paradise Lost*, VII. 523.

and different natures, as of soul and body,—but that the whole man is soul, and the soul man, that is to say, a body, or substance individual, animated, sensitive, and rational; and that the breath of life was neither a part of the divine essence, nor the soul itself, but as it were an inspiration of some divine virtue fitted for the exercise of life and reason, and infused into the organic body; for man himself, the whole man, when finally created, is called in express terms ‘a living soul.’ Hence the word used in Genesis to signify *soul*, is interpreted by the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 45. ‘animal.’\* Again, all the attributes of the body are assigned in common to the soul: the touch, Lev. v. 2, &c. ‘if a soul touch any unclean thing,’—the act of eating, vii. 18. ‘the soul that eateth of it shall bear his iniquity;’ v. 20. ‘the soul that eateth of the flesh,’ and in other places:—hunger, Prov. xiii. 25. xxvii. 7.—thirst, xxv. 25. ‘as cold waters to a thirsty soul.’ Isai. xxix. 8.—capture, 1 Sam. xxiv. 11. ‘thou huntest my soul to take it.’ Psal. vii. 5. ‘let the enemy persecute my soul, and take it.’

Where however we speak of the body as of a mere senseless stock, there the soul must be understood as

\* See Beza's version in loc. ‘Factus est prior homo Adamus *animal vivens*.’

. . . . . when God said,

Let th'earth bring forth soul living in her kind. VII. 450.

in which passage the original reading, even in the copies corrected by Milton, was *fowl* instead of *soul*. Dr. Newton agrees with Bentley, Pearce, and Richardson in preferring *soul*, and gives the following reason: ‘We observed before, that when Milton makes the Divine Person speak, he keeps closely to Scripture. Now what we render *living creature* (Gen. i. 24.) is *living soul* in the Hebrew, which Milton usually follows rather than our translation.’

signifying either the spirit, or its secondary faculties, the vital or sensitive faculty for instance. Thus it is as often distinguished from the spirit, as from the body itself. *Luke* i. 46, 47. *1 Thess.* v. 23. 'your whole spirit and soul and body.' *Heb.* iv. 12. 'to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit.' But that the spirit of man should be separate from the body, so as to have a perfect and intelligent existence independently of it, is nowhere said in Scripture, and the doctrine is evidently at variance both with nature and reason, as will be shown more fully hereafter. For the word *soul* is also applied to every kind of living being; *Gen.* i. 30. 'to every beast of the earth,' &c. 'wherein there is life.' (*anima vivens*, Tremell.) vii. 22. 'all in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died;' yet it is never inferred from these expressions that the soul exists separate from the body in any of the brute creation.

On the seventh day God ceased from his work, and ended the whole business of creation; *Gen.* ii. 2, 3.

It would seem therefore, that the human soul is not created daily by the immediate act of God, but propagated from father to son in a natural order;\*

\*The question which Milton now begins to discuss, is thus stated by Fiddes in his *Body of Divinity*, Book iii. Part I. 'Whether they were all created at once in order to be united to certain bodies which should be prepared afterwards in convenient time for their reception; or whether they are created at the instant when the bodies they are to inform are fit to receive them, are questions which have been much controverted . . . . But the arguments which have been produced for the pre-existence of souls appear to be more specious, and in the opinion of some of the greatest men of antiquity, heathen and Christian, whom certain moderns of distinction in the learned world have followed, really conclusive.'

which was considered as the more probable opinion by Tertullian and Apollinarius, as well as by Augustine, and the whole western church in the time of Jerome, as he himself testifies, Tom. II. Epist. 82. and Gregory of Nyssa in his treatise on the soul.\* God would in fact have left his creation imperfect, and a vast, not to say a servile task, would yet remain to be performed, without even allowing time for rest on each successive sabbath, if he still continued to create as many souls daily as there are bodies multiplied throughout the whole world, at the bidding of what is not seldom the flagitious wantonness of man.† Nor is there any reason to suppose that the influence of the divine blessing is less efficacious in imparting to man the power of producing after his kind, than

\* 'Super animæ statu memini vestræ quæstiunculæ, immo maxime Ecclesiasticæ questionis; utrum lapsa de cœlo sit, ut Pythagoras philosophus, omnesque Platonici, et Origines putant; an a propria Dei substantia, ut Stoici, Manichæus, et Hispana Priscilliani hæresis suspicantur; an in thesauro habeantur Dei olim conditæ, ut quidam Ecclesiastici stulta persuasione confidunt; an quotidie a Deo fiant, et mittantur in corpora, secundum illud quod in evangelio scriptum est, *Pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor*; an certe ex traduce, ut Tertullianus, Apollinarius, et maxima pars occidentalium autumant, ut quomodo corpus ex corpore, sic anima nascatur ex anima, et simili cum brutis animalibus conditione subsistat.' Hieronymi *Epist.* 82. (78 Edit. Benedict.) ad Marcellinum et Anapsychiam. Οὐκ ἔρα νῦν αἱ ψυχὰς γίνονται· ἐν γὰρ, ὁ Πατὴρ μου ἰσὺς ἔρα ἐργάζεται, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ κτίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ προνοεῖν ἐκδοῦναι καὶ αὐτῷ δοῦναι Ἀπολλινάριον τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν εἰσπίπτειν ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν σαρμάτων. προῖναι γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν κατὰ διαδοχὴν τοῦ πρότερου ἀνθρώπου εἰς τοὺς ἐξ αἱμοῦ συγγενεῖς, καὶ ὅστις τὴν σαρματικὴν διαδοχὴν. Greg. Nyssæ. *De Anima*.

† Deus absoluta sex diebus creatione mundi dicitur *quiescisse ab omni opere suo*, Gen. xi. 2. Non autem vere a creando quiescisset, si nunc singulis momentis ipse multas animas immediate produceret. Ut nunc non dicam indignum prorsus Deo videri, ut sit minister generationum fœdarum et incestuosarum quas ipse abominatur, et severe in lege prohibuit; ita ut simul atque libeat hominibus impuris corpora sua miscere, oporteat illum adesse, qui fœtui, quantumvis illegitime concepto, animam infundat.' Curcell. *Instit.* III. 6.



to the other parts of animated nature ; *Gen.* i. 22, 28.\* Thus it was from one of the ribs of the man that God made the mother of all mankind, without the necessity of infusing the breath of life a second time, *Gen.* ii. 22. and Adam himself begat a son in his own likeness after his image, v. 3. Thus *1 Cor.* xv. 49. ‘as we have borne the image of the earthy :’ and this not only in the body, but in the soul, as it was chiefly with respect to the soul† that Adam was made in the divine image. So *Gen.* xlii. 26. ‘all the souls which came with Jacob out of Egypt, which came out of his loins.’ *Heb.* vii. 10. ‘Levi was in the loins of Abraham :’ whence in Scripture an offspring is called *seed*, and Christ is denominated ‘the seed of the woman.’ *Gen.* xvii. 7. ‘I will be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.’ *1 Cor.*

\* ‘Deus, Adamo et Eva creatis, ipsis benedictionem suam impertitus est ad humani generis propagationem, dicens, *Crescite*, &c. *Gen.* i. 28. et ix. 1. Ergo dedit eis facultatem alios homines sibi similes, qui corpore et anima constarent, producendi ; quemadmodum et cæteris animantibus, quibus benedixit, talem communicavit . . . . Nec vero dixisset Moses *Adamum genuisse*, &c. *Gen.* v. 3. nempe ut ipse ad imaginem Dei factus erat. Ista enim Dei imago præcipue in anima consistit . . . . Et rursus dicit Moses, *cunctæ animæ*, &c. *Gen.* xlii. 25. Ergo non solum corpora, sed etiam animæ liberorum et nepotum Jacobi ab eo prognatæ sunt.’ Curcell. *Instit.* III. 4.

† . . . . . God on thee

Abundantly his gifts hath also pour’d

Inward and outward both, his image fair.

*Paradise Lost*, VIII. 219.

On which passage, in answer to Warburton’s insinuation, that one would think by this *outward* that Milton was of the sect of Anthropomorphites, as well as Materialists, Mr. Todd has well observed that the poet only meant to allude to the *complete* nature of man, the *animal* and *intellectual* parts united, which the learned Hale, treating of the words *in the image of God made he man*, minutely and admirably illustrates. See also above, page 22, and the note there.

xv. 44. 'it is sown a natural body.' v. 46. 'that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural.'

But besides the testimony of revelation, some arguments from reason may be alleged in confirmation of this doctrine. Whoever is born, or shapen and conceived in sin,\* (as we all are, not David only, *Psal.* li. 5.) if he receive his soul immediately from God, cannot but receive it from him shapen in sin; for to be generated and conceived, means nothing else than to receive a soul in conjunction with the body. If we receive the soul immediately from God, it must be pure, for who in such case will venture to call it impure?† But if it be pure, how are we conceived in sin in consequence of receiving a pure soul, which would rather have the effect of cleansing the impurities of the body; or with what justice is the pure soul charged with the sin of the body? But, it is contended, God does not create souls impure, but only impaired in their nature, and destitute of original righteousness, I answer, that to create pure souls destitute of original righteousness,—to send them into contaminated and corrupt bodies,—to deliver them up in their innocence and helplessness to the prison house of the body, as to an enemy, with understanding blinded and with will enslaved,—in other words, wholly deprived of sufficient strength for resisting the vicious propensities of the body—to create souls thus circumstanced, would argue as much injustice, as to have created them impure would have

\* 'Proclivitas ad malum, cum qua infantes nascuntur, huic etiam opinioni favet. Nam ea a Deo non est, ut omnes fatentur, neque etiam a corpore, quod non est vitii moralis capax.' Curcell. *Instit.* III. 8.

† Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,

Created pure. *Paradise Lost*, V. 99.

argued impurity ; it would have argued as much injustice, as to have created the first man Adam himself impaired in his nature, and destitute of original righteousness.

Again, if sin be communicated by generation, and transmitted from father to son. it follows that what is the *πρῶτον δεκτικόν*,\* or original subject of sin, namely, the rational soul, must be propagated in the same manner ; for that it is from the soul that all sin in the first instance proceeds, will not be denied. Lastly, on what principle of justice can sin be imputed through Adam to that soul, which was never either in Adam, or derived from Adam ? In confirmation of which Aristotle's argument may be added, the truth of which in my opinion is indisputable.† If the soul be equally diffused throughout any given whole, and throughout every part of that whole, how can the human seed, the noblest and most intimate part of all the body, be imagined destitute and devoid of the soul of the parents, or at least of the father,

\* 'Subjectum distingui potest in recipiens, quod Græce *δεκτικόν* appellant, et occupans, quod objectum dici solet, quia in eo adjuncta occupantur . . . Sic anima est subjectum scientiæ, ignorantiae, virtutis, vitii, quia hæc animæ adjunguntur, id est, præter essentiam accedunt.' *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio* Prose Works, VI. 220.

† See Aristot. *περὶ ψυχῆς*, I. 9.—'Per omnes ejus particulas tota simul adest, nec minor in minoribus, et in majoribus major, sed alicubi intensius, alicubi remissius, et in omnibus tota, et in singulis tota est.' Augustine *De Origine animæ hominis* ad Hieron. Ep. 166. Edit. Benedict.

. . . . Spirits that live throughout  
Vital in every part, not as frail man  
In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins.—

. . . .  
All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,  
All intellect, all sense. *Paradise Lost*, VI. 344.

. . . . if it be true  
That light is in the soul,  
She all in every part.— *Samson Agonistes*, 91.

when communicated to the son by the laws of generation? It is acknowledged by the common consent of almost all philosophers, that every *form*,\* to which class the human soul must be considered as belonging, is produced by the power of matter.

It was probably by some such considerations as these that Augustine was led to confess that he could neither discover by study, nor prayer, nor any process of reasoning, how the doctrine of original sin could be defended on the supposition of the creation of souls.† The texts which are usually advanced,

\* Milton frequently uses the word *forma* in its philosophical sense. In his English works he commonly expresses it by the word *shape*.

. . . . . saw

Virtue in her *shape* how lovely. *Paradise Lost*, IV. 846.

‘Discipline is not only the removal of disorder; but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, *the very visible shape* and image of virtue.’ *The Reason of Church Government*, &c. Prose Works, I. 81. ‘Regenerate in us the lovely *shapes* of virtues and graces.’ *Ibid.* 86. ‘Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine master, and was a perfect *shape* most glorious to look on.’ *Speech for Liberty of Printing*. *Ibid.* 319.

† ‘We cannot deny but that besides Origen, several others of the ancient fathers before the fifth council seem either to have espoused the pre-existence of souls, or at least to have had a favour and kindness for it; insomuch that St. Augustine himself is sometimes staggering in this point, and thinks it to be a great secret whether men’s souls existed before their generations or no, and somewhere concludes it to be a matter of indifference, wherein every one may have his liberty of opinion either way without offence.’ Cudworth’s *Intellectual System*, chap. v. ‘Hujus igitur damnationis in parvulis causam requiro, quia neque animarum, si novæ sunt singulis singulæ, video esse ullum in illa ætate peccatum, nec a Deo damari aliquam credo quam videt nullum habere peccatum.’ Augustine *De Origine animæ*, &c. ad Hieron. ‘Quære ubi, vel unde, vel quando cœperint (animæ) damnationis meritum habere, si novæ sunt, ita sane ut Deum non facias, nec aliquam naturam, quam non condidit Deus, vel peccati earum vel innocentium damnationis auctorem. Et si inveneris quod te quærere admonui, quod ipse adhuc, fateor, non inveni, defende quantum potes, atque asserere animam infantium ejusmodi esse

*Eccles.* xii. 7. *Isai.* lvii. 16. *Zech.* xii. 1. certainly indicate that nobler origin of the soul implied in its being breathed from the mouth of God; but they no more prove that each soul is severally and immediately created by the Deity, than certain other texts, which might be quoted, prove that each individual body is formed in the womb by the immediate hand of God.\* *Job* x. 8—10. ‘thine hands have made me....hast thou not poured me out as milk?’ *Psal.* xxxiii. 15. ‘he fashioneth their hearts alike.’ *Job* xxxi. 15. ‘did not he that made me in the womb make him?’ *Isai.* xlv. 24. ‘thus saith Jehovah.... he that formed thee from the womb.’ *Acts* xvii. 26. ‘he hath made of one blood all nations of men.’ We are not to infer from these passages, that natural causes do not contribute their ordinary efficacy for the propagation of the body; nor on the other hand that the soul is not received by traduction from the father, because at the time of death it again betakes itself to different elements than the body, in conformity with its own origin.

With regard to the passage, *Heb.* xii. 9. where ‘the fathers of the flesh’ are opposed to ‘the Father of spirits,’ I answer, that it is to be understood in a theological, not in a physical sense, as if the father of

novitatem, ut nulla propagatione ducuntur; et nobiscum quod inveneris fraterna dilectione communica.’ *Augustinus Ep.* 157. (190. Edit. Benedict.) ad Optatum.

\* ‘Sunt quedam scripture loca, quæ id asserere videntur, ut *Job* xxxiii. 4. *Eccles.* xii. 9. *Zach.* xii. 4. Respondeo, ex eo quod *Job* ait, *spiraculum Omnipotentis vitam tibi indidisse*, non magis sequi id factum esse immediate a Deo, quam ex eo quod idem dicit, *nonne sicut lac mulisti me*, &c. *Job* x. 8. colligi legitime potest corpora nostra a parentibus non gigni, sed immediate a Deo ipso formari.’ *Curcell. Instit.* III. 10. 2.

the body were opposed to the father of the soul ; for *flesh* is taken neither in this passage, nor probably any where else, for the body without the soul ; nor ' the father of spirits ' for the father of the soul, in respect of the work of generation ; but ' the father of the flesh ' here means nothing else than the earthly or natural father, whose offspring are begotten in sin ; ' the father of spirits ' is either the heavenly father, who in the beginning created all spirits, angels as well as the human race, or the spiritual father, who bestows a second birth on the faithful ; according to *John* iii. 6. ' that which is born of the flesh is flesh ; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.' The argument too, will proceed better, if the whole be understood as referring to edification and correction, not to generation ; for the point in question is not, from what source each individual originated, or what part of him thence originated, but who had proved most successful in the employment of chastisement and instruction. By parity of reasoning, the apostle might exhort the converts to bear with his rebuke, on the ground that he was their spiritual father. God indeed is as truly the father of the flesh as of ' the spirits of flesh,' *Numb.* xvi. 22. but this is not the sense intended here, and all arguments are weak which are deduced from passages of Scripture originally relating to a different subject.

With regard to the soul of Christ, it will be sufficient to answer that its generation was supernatural, and therefore cannot be cited as an argument in the discussion of this controversy. Nevertheless, even he is called ' the seed of the woman,' ' the seed of

David according to the flesh ;' that is, undoubtedly, according to his human nature.

There seems therefore no reason, why the soul of man should be made an exception to the general law of creation. For, as has been shown before, God breathed the breath of life into the other living beings, and blended it so intimately with matter, that the propagation and production of the human form were analogous to those of other forms, and the proper effect of that power which had been communicated to matter by the Deity.

Man being formed after the image of God, it followed as a necessary consequence that he should be endued with natural wisdom, holiness, and righteousness. *Gen.* i. 27, 31. ii. 25. *Eccles.* vii. 29. *Eph.* iv. 24. *Col.* iii. 10. *2 Cor.* iii. 18. Certainly without extraordinary wisdom he could not have given names to the whole animal creation with such sudden intelligence, *Gen.* ii. 20.\*

\* In this illustration the chief stress is laid upon the suddenness with which Adam was enabled to give appropriate names to the brute creation, as it passed in review before him. Milton has two other allusions to this event, and the same circumstance is marked as the prominent feature of the case in both passages. There is nothing in the scriptural narration to suggest the particular idea, or the coincidence would have been less remarkable.

I nam'd them as they pass'd, and understood  
 Their nature, with such knowledge God endu'd  
*My sudden apprehension. Paradise Lost, VIII. 352.*

' But Adam, who had the wisdom given him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties, no doubt but had the gift to discern perfectly that which concerned him much more, and to apprehend at first sight the true fitness of that consort which God provided him.' *Tetrachordon. Prose Works, II. 133.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OF THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, OR OF HIS GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE UNIVERSE.

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**T**HE remaining species of God's external efficiency, is his *government of the whole creation*.

This government is either *general* or *special*.

His *general government* is that whereby *God the Father regards, preserves, and governs the whole of creation with infinite wisdom and holiness according to the conditions of his decree*.

*God the Father. Neh. ix. 6.* 'thou, even thou, art Jehovah alone . . . . thou hast made, and thou preservest them all.' To this truth Christ himself bears witness everywhere. *Matt. v. 45.* 'that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise . . . . and sendeth rain,' &c. *vi. 4.* 'thy Father which seeth in secret.' *v. 8.* 'your Father knoweth.' *v. 13.* 'thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory.' *v. 26.* 'your heavenly Father feedeth them.' *v. 32.* 'your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.' *vii. 11.* 'your Father which is in heaven shall give good things unto them that ask him.' *x. 29.* 'one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Fa-



ther.' Acts i. 7. 'the times and seasons which the Father hath put in his own power.' Eph. i. 11. 'according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.' James i. 17. 'every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights.' Even as regards the Son himself. Acts iv. 27. 'against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed . . . for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.' The preservation of the universe is attributed to the Son also, but in what sense, and on what grounds, may be seen in the fifth chapter, on the Son of God. Col. i. 17. 'by him all things consist,'—but both the preceding and following verses explain on what account; namely, because the Father, v. 13. 'hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son,' and because, v. 19. 'it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell.' Heb. i. 3. 'upholding all things by the word of his power,' namely, because, v. 2. the Father 'hath appointed him heir of all things.' Further, it will appear on an examination of the passage, that the original ought to be translated, not of *his own* power,\* but of *his*, namely, the Father's, of whose person he was the

\* In allusion to the versions of Beza and Tremellius, who translate the clause, *sustineatque omnia verbo potentia sue*, or *verbo illo suo potente*, *sustinet omnia virtute verbi sui*. Mill reads *ab eo*, without noticing the other reading, nor have I remarked that Waterland, who often quotes and argues upon the passage, takes any notice of the variation. It is however mentioned by Doddridge; and Wetstein, who reads *ab eo*, has the following note: '*ab eo*, ut ad Patrem referatur. Christus verbo potentia paternae cuncta fert. Editio Erasmi, Colinæi.' To these two names Archbishop Newcome has added that of Bengelius, in the copy of Wetstein's New Testament which formerly belonged to that prelate, and which is enriched with several annotations in his hand-writing.

express image : and the right reading in the Greek is *αὐτοῦ*, not *αὐτοῦ*, since *δι' ἐαυτοῦ* immediately follows, as if put expressly for the sake of distinction. Lastly, Christ testifies of himself, *Matt.* xxviii. 18. 'all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth ;' and to the same effect in many other places.

*Regards.* *Job* xxxi. 4. 'doth not he count all my steps ?' *2 Chron.* xvi. 9. 'the eyes of Jehovah run to and fro throughout the whole earth.' *Psal.* xxxiii. 15. 'he fashioneth their hearts alike ; he considereth all their works.' *Jer.* xxxii. 19. 'thine eyes are open upon all the ways of the sons of men.' *Hos.* ii. 21. 'I will hear the heavens.'

*Preserves.* *Deut.* viii. 3. 'man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah.' *Job* vii. 20. 'O thou preserver of men.' *Psal.* xxx. 7. 'thou didst hide thy face, and I was troubled.' lxxx. 1. 'O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock....shine forth.' v. 3. 'cause thy face to shine and we shall be saved.' civ. 29. 'thou takest away their breath, they die.' *Nehem.* ix. 6. 'thou hast made....and thou preservest them all.' *Acts* xiv. 17. 'he left not himself without witness.' xvii. 25. 'he giveth to all life.' v. 28. 'in him we live.'

*According to the conditions of his decree.* It is necessary to add this qualification, inasmuch as God preserves neither angels, nor men, nor any other part of creation absolutely, but always with reference to the conditions of his decree. For he preserves mankind, since their spontaneous fall, and all other things with them, only so far as regards their existence, and not as regards their primitive perfection. ✓

*Governs.* *Job* xiv. 5. 'thou hast appointed his bounds.' *Psal.* xxix. 10. 'Jehovah sitteth king for ever.' xciii. 1. 'Jehovah reigneth....the world also is established.' ciii. 19. 'his kingdom ruleth over all.' *Prov.* xx. 24. 'man's goings are of Jehovah.' xxi. 1. 'the king's heart is in the hand of Jehovah....he turneth it whithersoever he will.'

*With infinite wisdom and holiness.* *Job* ix. 10. 'which doeth great things past finding out, yea, and wonders without number.' *Prov.* x. 24. 'the fear of the wicked it shall come upon him; but the desire of the righteous shall be granted.' xii. 3. 'a man shall not be established by wickedness.' xiii. 9. 'the light of the righteous rejoiceth.' *Isai.* lv. 9. 'my ways are higher than your ways.' *Deut.* xxxii. 4. 'all his ways are judgement.' *Psal.* xix. 9. 'the judgements of Jehovah are true and righteous altogether.' lxxvii. 13. 'thy way, O God, is in the sanctuary,' Generally speaking, however, no distinction is made between the righteous and the wicked, with regard to the final issue of events, at least in this life. *Job* xii. 6. 'the tabernacles of robbers prosper.' xxi. 7. 'wherefore do the wicked live, become old?' *Eccles.* vii. 15. 'there is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man that longeth his life in his wickedness.' viii. 14. 'there be just men unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous.' ix. 2. 'there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked.' The reason for this may be seen *Job* v. 7. 'man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward.' xxiv. 23. 'though it be given him to be in

safety, whereon he resteth; yet his eyes are upon their ways,' &c. *Psal.* lxxiii. 12, &c. 'behold, these are the ungodly who prosper in the world,' &c..... until I went into the sanctuary of God; then understood I their end. xcii. 7. 'when the wicked spring as the grass,' &c. .... 'it is that they shall be destroyed for ever.' *Eccles.* vii. 18. 'it is good that thou shouldest take hold of this; yea also from this withdraw not thine hand; for he that feareth God shall come forth of them all.' viii. 12. 'though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged; yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God.' *Jer.* xii. 1. 'wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper?' *Dan.* xii. 10. 'many shall be purified, and made white, and tried.'

*The whole of creation.* *Gen.* viii. 1. 'God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle.' ix. 9, 10, 12, 15. 'I, behold I establish my covenant with you....and every living creature that is with you.' *Prov.* xv. 3. 'the eyes of Jehovah are in every place, beholding the evil and the good.'

Even the smallest objects. *Job* xxxiv. 21. 'for his eyes are upon the ways of man, and he seeth all his goings.' *Psal.* civ. 21. 'the young lions roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God.' cxlvii. 9. 'he giveth to the beast his food.' *Matt.* vi. 26. x. 29, 30. 'a sparrow shall not fall on the ground without your Father: but the very hairs of your head are all numbered.'

At the same time, God does not extend an equal share of his providential care to all things indiscriminately. *1 Cor.* ix. 9. 'doth God take care for oxen?' that is, as much care as he takes for man? *Zech.*

ii. 8. 'he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye.' 1 *Tim.* iv. 10. 'the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe.'

Natural things. *Exod.* iii. 21. 'I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians;' that is, by operating a change in their natural affections. *Jer.* li. 16. 'he uttereth his voice, there is a multitude of waters in the heavens; and he causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth.' *Amos* v. 8. 'that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth; Jehovah is his name.'

Even such as are supernatural. *Lev.* xxv. 20, 21. 'and if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year?....it shall bring forth fruit for three years.' *Deut.* viii. 3, 4. 'he fed thee with manna....thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell these forty years.' See also xxix. 5. 1 *Kings* xvii. 4. 'I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there.' v. 14. 'the barrel of meal shall not waste,' &c.

Events contingent or fortuitous. *Exod.* xxi. 13. 'if God deliver him into his hand.' *Prov.* xvi. 33. 'the whole disposing of the lot is of Jehovah.' Nor is anything derogatory to divine providence intended by Scripture, even where (as sometimes happens) it scruples not to employ the names of fortune or chance; all that is meant is to exclude the idea of human causation. *Eccles.* ix. 11. 'time and chance happeneth to them all.' *Luke* x. 31. 'by chance there came down a certain priest that way.'

✓ Voluntary actions. 2 *Chron.* x. 15. 'so the king hearkened not unto the people: for the cause was of God.' *Prov.* xvi. 9. 'a man's heart deviseth his

way; but Jehovah directeth his steps.' xx. 24. 'man's goings are of Jehovah.' xxi. 1. 'the king's heart is in the hand of Jehovah as the rivers of water; he turneth it whithersoever he will.' Jer. x. 23. 'O Jehovah, I know that the way of man is not in himself.' In this, however, there is no infringement on the liberty of the human will; otherwise man would be deprived of the power of free agency, not only with regard to what is right, but with regard to what is indifferent, or even positively wrong.

Lastly, temporal evils no less than blessings. *Exod.* xxi. 13. 'if God deliver him into his hand.' *Isai.* xlv. 7. 'I make peace, and create evil,'—that is, what afterwards became evil, and now remains so; for whatever God created was originally good, as he himself testifies, *Gen.* i. *Matt.* xviii. 7. 'woe unto the world because of offences; for it must needs be that offences come: but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.' 1 *Cor.* xi. 19. 'for there must be also heresies amongst you, that they which are approved may be made manifest amongst you.'

God, however, is concerned in the production of evil only in one of these two ways; either he permits its existence by throwing no impediment in the way of natural causes and free agents, (as, *Acts.* ii. 23. 'him being delivered by the determinate counsel of God...ye have slain.' xiv. 16. 'who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways.' 1 *Pet.* iii. 17. 'it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing.' iv. 19. 'them that suffer according to the will of God,') or, secondly, he causes evil by the infliction of judgements, which is called the evil of punishment. 2 *Sam.* xii. 11. 'be-

hold, I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house,'—that is, punishment. *Prov.* xvi. 4. 'Jehovah hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil;' that is, him who, having been created good, became subsequently wicked by his own fault, in conformity with the explanation already given of *Isai.* xlv. 7. liv. 16. 'I created the waster to destroy.' *Lam.* iii. 38, 39. 'out of the mouth of the Most High proceedeth not evil and good? wherefore doth a living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sins?' *Amos* iii. 6. 'shall there be evil in a city, and Jehovah hath not done it?' For God, who is infinitely good, cannot be the doer of wickedness, or of the evil of sin; on the contrary, out of the wickedness of men he produces good. *Gen.* xlv. 5. 'God did send me before you to preserve life.' i. 20. 'as for you, ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good.'

If (inasmuch as I do not address myself to such as are wholly ignorant, but to those who are already competently acquainted with the outlines of Christian doctrine) I may be permitted, in discoursing on the general providence of God, so far to anticipate the natural order of arrangement, as to make an allusion to a subject which belongs properly to another part of my treatise, that of sin, I might remark, that even in the matter of sin God's providence finds its exercise, not only in permitting its existence, or in withdrawing his grace, but also in impelling sinners to the commission of sin, in hardening their hearts, and in blinding their understandings.

In impelling sinners to the commission of sin. *Exod.* ix. 16. 'for this cause have I raised thee up.'

**Judges ix. 23.** 'God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem.' **2 Sam. xii. 11, 12.** 'I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house, and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour....I will do this thing.' **xvi. 10.** 'Jehovah hath said unto him, Curse David.' **xxiv. 1.** 'Jehovah moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah.' Compare **1 Chron. xxi. 1.** **1 Kings xxii. 20.** 'who shall persuade Ahab?' **Psal. cv. 25.** 'he turned their heart to hate his people.' **Ezek. xiv. 9.** 'I Jehovah have deceived that prophet.'

In hardening their hearts. **Exod. iv. 21. vii. 3.** ✓  
 'I will harden Pharaoh's heart.' **Deut. ii. 30.** 'Jehovah thy God hardened his spirit.' **Josh. xi. 20.** 'it was of Jehovah to harden their hearts.' **John xii. 39, 40.** 'therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said again....he hath hardened their heart.' **Rom. ix. 18.** 'whom he will he hardeneth.'

In blinding their understandings. **Deut. xxviii. 28.** ✓  
 'Jehovah shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart.' **1 Sam. xvi. 14.**  
 'an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him.' **1 Kings xxii. 22** 'I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets: and Jehovah said, Thou shalt persuade him.' **Isai. viii. 14.** 'he shall be for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel; for a gin and for a snare—.' **xix. 14.** 'Jehovah hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof, and they have caused Egypt to err.' **xxix. 10.** 'Jehovah hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes.' **Matt. xiii. 13.**  
 'therefore speak I to them in parables, because they



seeing see not.' *John* xii. 40. compared with *Isai.* vi. 9. 'he hath blinded their eyes.' *Rom.* i. 28. 'God gave them over to a reprobate mind.' *2 Thess.* ii. 11. 'God shall send them a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie.'

But though in these, as well as in many other passages of the Old and New Testament, God distinctly declares that it is himself who impels the sinner to sin, who hardens his heart, who blinds his understanding, and leads him into error; yet on account of the infinite holiness of the Deity, it is not allowable to consider him as in the smallest instance the author of sin. *Hos.* xiv. 9. 'the ways of Jehovah are right, and the just shall walk in them'; but the transgressors shall fall therein.' *Psal.* v. 4. 'thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness, neither shall evil dwell with thee.' *Rom.* vii. 8. 'sin, taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence.' *James* i. 13, 14. 'let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man: but every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed.' iv. 1. 'from whence come wars and fightings amongst you? come they not hence, even of your lusts which war in your members?' *1 John* ii. 16. 'for all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world.' For it is not the human heart in a state of innocence and purity, and repugnance to evil, that is induced by him to act wickedly and deceitfully; but after it has conceived sin, and when it is about to bring forth, he, in his character of sove-

reign disposer of all things,\* inclines and biasses it in this or that direction, or towards this or that object. *Psal.* xciv. 23. 'he shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own wickedness, yea, Jehovah our God shall cut them off;'—that is to say, by the infliction of punishment. Nor does God make that will evil which was before good, but the will being already in a state of perversion, he influences it in such a manner, that out of its own wickedness it either operates good for others, or punishment for itself, though unknowingly, and with the intent of producing a very different result. *Prov.* xvi. 9. 'a man's heart deviseth his way, but Jehovah directeth his steps.' Thus *Ezek.* xxi. 21, 22. when the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way in doubt whether he should go to war against the Ammonites or against the Jews, God so ordered the divination, as to determine him on going against Jerusalem.† Or, to use the common simile, as a rider who urges on a stumbling horse in a particular direction is the cause of its increasing its speed, but not of its stumbling,—so God, who is the supreme governor of the universe, may instigate an evil agent, without

may be.

\* . . . . . Therefore was law giv'n them to evince  
 Their natural pravity, by stirring up  
 Sin against law to fight. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 287.

† 'Deus interdum peccatores inscios et præter mentem suam ad obiectum aliquod contra quod peccent, potius quam ad aliud dirigit; vel ad hoc potius peccatum, quam ad aliud quod animo ante conceperant, eos ferri sinit....cum rex Babylonis ambitione sua incitatus bellum gerere constituisset, at penderet adhuc animo, nesciens utrum Judæos an vero Ammonitas impetere deberet, Deus ita direxit sortes, quas consulebat, ut in Judæos, quorum peccata ultionem suam magis provocaverant, expeditionem illam militarem susciperet, *Ezech.* xxi. 29, &c.' Curcell. *Institutio*, III. 12, 7.

being in the least degree the cause of the evil. I shall recur again to this simile hereafter. For example,—God saw that the mind of David was so elated and puffed up by the increase of his power, that even without any external impulse he was on the point of giving some remarkable token of his pride ; he therefore excited in him the desire of numbering the people : he did not inspire him with the passion of vain glory, but impelled him to display in this manner, rather than in any other, that latent arrogance of his heart which was ready to break forth. God therefore was the author of the act itself, but David alone was responsible for its pride and wickedness. Further, the end which a sinner has in view is generally something evil and unjust, from which God uniformly educes a good and just result, thus as it were creating light out of darkness. By this means he proves the inmost intentions of men, that is, he makes man to have a thorough insight into the latent wickedness of his own heart, that he may either be induced thereby to forsake his sins, or if not, that he may become notorious and inexcusable in the sight of all ; or lastly, to the end that both the author and the sufferer of the evil may be punished for some former transgression. At the same time, the common maxim, that God makes sin subservient to the punishment of sin, must be received with caution ; for the Deity does not effect his purpose by compelling any one to commit crime, or by abetting him in it, but by withdrawing the ordinary grace of his enlightening spirit, and ceasing to strengthen him against sin. There is indeed a proverb which says, that he who is able to forbid an action, and forbids it not, virtually com-

mands it.\* This maxim is indeed binding on man, as a moral precept; but it is otherwise with regard to God.† When, in conformity with the language of mankind, he is spoken of as instigating, where he only does not prohibit evil, it does not follow that he therefore bids it, inasmuch as there is no obligation by which he is bound to forbid it. *Psal.* lxxxi. 11, 12. ‘my people would not hearken to my voice, and Israel would none of me: so I gave them up unto their own hearts’ lust, and they walked in their own counsels.’ Hence it is said, *Rom.* i. 24. ‘wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness,’—that is, he left them to be actuated by their own lusts, to walk in them; for properly speaking God does not instigate, or give up, him whom he leaves entirely to himself, that is, to his own desires and counsels, and to the suggestions of his ever active spiritual enemy. In the same sense the Church is said to give up to Satan the contumacious member, whom it interdicts from its communion. With regard to the case of David’s numbering the people, a single word will be sufficient. For it is not God, but Satan who is said to have instigated him. *2 Sam.* xxiv. 1.† *1 Chron.* xxi. 1. A

✓ why

Satan is  
the cause of  
the sin.

\* ‘But they shift it; he permitted only. Yet silence in the law is consent, and consent is accessory.’ *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 9. ‘Yea, but to permit evil, is not to do evil. Yes, it is in a most eminent manner to do evil; where else are all our grave and faithful sayings, that he whose office is to forbid and forbids not, bids, exhorts, encourages?’ *Ibid.* 182.

How severe?

† As if they would confine th’ Interminable,  
And tie him to his own prescript,  
Who made our laws to bind us, not himself.

*Samson Agonistes*, 307.

‡ *Perrexit autem ira Jehovæ accendi in Israelitas, quum incitasset adversarius Davidem in eos, &c.* Version of Tremellius. Our authorized

similar explanation applies to the passage in 2 *Sam.* xii. 11, 12. ‘behold, I will raise up evil against thee out of thine own house,’—that is, the evil of punishment,—‘and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour,’—that is, I will permit thy son to go in unto them, according to the counsel of Ahithophel; for this is the meaning of the word *give*, as has been just shown. As to the popular simile of the stumbling horse, the argument drawn from it is itself a lame one; for the sinner, if he be really instigated, is not instigated simply to act, as in the case of the horse, but to act amiss,—or in other words, he is instigated to stumble, because he stumbles.\* In both the instances above adduced, God had determined to punish openly the secret adultery of David: he saw Absalom’s propensity to every kind of wickedness; he saw the mischievous counsels of Ahithophel, and did nothing more than influence their minds, which were already in a state of preparation for any atrocity, to perpetrate one crime in preference to another, when opportunity should offer; according to the passage of Proverbs quoted above, xvi. 9. ‘a man’s heart deviseth his way; but Jehovah directeth his steps.’ For to offer an occasion of sinning, is only

translation renders the passage differently. *The anger of Jehovah was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah.*

\* ‘Atqui, inquires, id fit quia sunt mali, non quia Dei concursus eos tales reddat, veluti cum agaso armentum equorum aut asinorum claudorum agit, causa quidem est incoessus illorum, sed vitium ipsis adhærens est causa cur claudicarent. Respondeo istam similitudinem claudicare, nec posse applicari primo hominis peccato, quo cætera omnia inevitabiliter fluere existimant. Nullus enim tunc in eo erat defectus, qui efficeret ut Deo ad agendum impellente male ageret.’ Curcell. *Institutio*, IV. 2. 3.

to manifest the wickedness of the sinner, not to create it. The other position, that God eventually converts every evil deed into an instrument of good, contrary to the expectation of sinners, and overcomes evil with good,\* is sufficiently illustrated in the example of Joseph's sale by his brethren, *Gen.* xlv. 8. Thus also in the crucifixion of Christ, the sole aim of Pilate was to preserve the favour of Cæsar; that of the Jews to satisfy their own hatred and vengeance; but God, whose 'hand and counsel had determined before every thing that was to be done,' *Acts* iv. 28. made use of their cruelty and violence as instruments for effecting the general redemption of mankind. *Rom.* xi. 11. 'through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles.' *1 Cor.* xi. 19. 'there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.' *Philipp.* i. 12, 14. 'the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel.'

Again, as God's instigating the sinner does not render him the author of sin, so neither does his hard-

\* ..... If then his Providence

Out of our evil seek to bring forth good—

*Paradise Lost*, I. 162.

..... Who seeks

To lessen thee, against his purpose serves

To manifest the more thy might; his evil

Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.

VII. 613. See also XII. 470.

'Denique providentia divina circa peccatum jam commissum se exerit, non tantum puniendo ipsum ex severitate, aut condonando ex misericordia, sed etiam ad bonum aliquem finem inservire faciendo, contra perpetrantis intentionem. Ita Deus usus est venditione Josephi, ad conservandum familiam patris et regnum Ægypti, ne fame perirent; et scelere Judæorum Jesum morti tradentium, ad generis humani redemptionem.' Curcell. *Institutio*, III. 12. 8.

ening the heart or blinding the understanding involve that consequence ; inasmuch as he does not produce these effects by infusing an evil disposition, but on the contrary by employing such just and kind methods, as ought rather to soften the hearts of sinners than harden them. First, by his long-suffering. *Rom.* ii. 4, 5. ‘despisest thou the riches of his long-suffering ....but after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath?’ Secondly, by urging his own good and reasonable commands in opposition to the obstinacy of the wicked ; as an anvil, or adamant, is said to be hardened under the hammer. Thus Pharaoh became more furious and obdurate in proportion as he resisted the commands of God. *Exod.* v. 2. ‘who is Jehovah?’ vii. 2. 3. ‘thou shalt speak all that I command thee....and I will harden Pharaoh’s heart.’ *Isai.* vi. 10. ‘make the heart of this people fat,’—that is to say, by the repeated inculcation of the divine commands, as in xxviii. 13. ‘the word of Jehovah was unto them precept upon precept....that they might go and fall backward.’ Thirdly, by correction or punishment. *Ezek.* iii. 20. ‘when a righteous man doth turn from his righteousness and commit iniquity, and I lay a stumbling-block before him, he shall die.’ *Jer.* v. 3. ‘thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved....they have made their faces harder than a rock.’ The hardening of the heart, therefore, is usually the last punishment inflicted on inveterate wickedness and unbelief in this life. *1 Sam.* ii. 25. ‘they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them.’ God often hardens in a remarkable manner the powerful and rebellious princes of this world, in

order that through their insolence and haughtiness his glory may be magnified among the nations. *Exod.* ix. 16. 'for this cause have I raised thee up, for to show in thee my power.' See also x. 2. compared with *Rom.* ix. 17. 'even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee.' *Exod.* xiv. 4, 17. 'I will be honoured upon Pharaoh.' Yet the act of hardening is not so exclusively the work of God, but that the wicked themselves fully co-operate in it, though with any view but that of fulfilling the divine will. Hence Pharaoh is said to harden his own heart, *Exod.* ix. 34. 'when he saw that the rain and the hail and the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, he and his servants.' *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 13. 'he stiffened his neck, and hardened his heart from turning unto Jehovah.' *Psal.* xcv. 8. 'harden not your heart.' *Zech.* vii. 12. 'they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law and the words which Jehovah of hosts hath sent.'

Thus also with regard to the blinding of the understanding. *Deut.* xxviii. 15. compared with v. 28. 'it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of Jehovah thy God....Jehovah shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart,' that is, by withdrawing the light of his grace, by confounding or stupifying the faculties of the mind, or by simply permitting Satan to work these effects in the sinner. *Rom.* i. 28. 'even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind.' *2 Cor.* iv. 4. 'in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not.' *Eph.* ii. 2.



‘the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.’ 2 *Thess.* ii. 11. ‘for this cause God shall send them strong delusion.’ Lastly, God is said to deceive men, not in the sense of seducing them to sin, but of beguiling them to their own punishment, or even to the production of some good end. *Ezek.* xiv. 9—11. ‘if the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I Jehovah have deceived that prophet, and I will stretch out my hand upon him,’ &c.....‘and they shall bear the punishment of their iniquity....that the house of Israel may go no more astray from me.’ God first deceived the already corrupt and covetous prophet, by disposing his mind to prophesy things acceptable to the people, and then deservedly cut off both the people who inquired of him, and the prophet of whom they inquired, to deter others from sinning in a similar manner; because on the one hand a bad intention had been displayed on the part of the inquirers, and on the other a false answer had been returned, which God had not commanded.

To this view of providence must be referred what is called temptation, whereby God either tempts men, or permits them to be tempted by the devil or his agents. Temptation is either for evil or for good.

An evil temptation is when God, as above described, either withdraws his grace, or presents occasions of sin, or hardens the heart, or blinds the understanding. This is generally an evil temptation in respect of him who is tempted, but most equitable on the part of the Deity, for the reasons above-mentioned. It also serves the purpose of unmasking hypocrisy;\*

\*‘Yet I will not insist on that which may seem to be the cause on God’s part; as his judgement on our sins, the trial of his own, the unmasking of hypocrites—’ *Of Reformation in England*, l. 5.

for God tempts no one in the sense of enticing or persuading to sin, (see *James* i. 13. as above,) though there be some towards whom he deservedly permits the devil to employ such temptations. We are taught in the Lord's prayer to deprecate temptations of this kind; *Matt.* vi. 13. 'lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.'\*

A good temptation is that whereby God tempts even the righteous for the purpose of proving them, not as though he were ignorant of the disposition of their hearts, but for the purpose of exercising or manifesting their faith or patience, as in the case of Abraham and Job; or of lessening their self-confidence, and reproving their weakness, that both they themselves may become wiser by experience, and others may profit by their example; as in the case of Hezekiah, *2 Chron.* xxxii. 31. whom 'God left'—partially, or for a time—'to try him, that he might know all that was in his heart.' He tempted the Israelites in the wilderness with the same view. *Deut.* viii. 2. 'to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments or no.' *Psal.* lxvi. 10. 'thou, O God, hast proved us, thou hast tried us as silver is tried.' *1 Pet.* i. 7. 'that the trial of your faith....might be found unto praise.' iv. 12. 'beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you.' *Rev.* ii. 10. 'behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried.'

This kind of temptation is therefore rather to be desired. *Psal.* xxvi. 2. 'examine me, O Jehovah,

\* *Ab illo malo.* Tremellius. *from that evil one.*

and prove me ; try my reins and my heart.' *James* i. 2, 3. ' my brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations ; knowing this, that the trying of your faith worketh patience.'

God also promises a happy issue. 1 *Cor.* x. 13. ' there hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man ; but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able, but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.' *James* i. 12. ' blessed is the man that endureth temptation ; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life.'

Yet even believers are not always sufficiently observant of these various operations of divine providence, until they are led to investigate the subject more deeply, and become more intimately conversant with the word of God. *Psal.* lxxiii. 2, 17. ' my feet were almost gone....until I went into the sanctuary of God : then understood I their end.' *Dan.* xii. 10. ' many shall be purified, and made white, and tried ; but the wicked shall do wickedly : and none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.'

Having said in the prefatory definition, that the providence of God extends to all things, and that it has enacted certain immutable laws, by which every part of the creation is administered, it may not be an useless digression to inquire in this place, whether, among other fixed regulations, a limit has been set to the duration of human life, which is not to be passed.\* That such is the case, Scripture clearly inti-

\* 'Tertia questio spectat conservationem individuum, utrum Deus absoluto decreto unicuique homini certum vitæ terminum assignarit, quem nemo ulla ratione aut contrahere aut producere possit.' Curcell. *Institutio*, III. 11. 1.

mates. *Job* xiv. 5. 'seeing his days are determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass.' *Psal.* xc. 10. 'the days of our years are threescore years and ten, and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow ; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.' From these and similar passages, and especially from the early history of the world, it is evident that God, at least after the fall of man,\* limited human life to a certain term, which in the progress of ages, from Adam to David, gradually became more and more contracted ; so that whether this term be one and the same to all, or appointed differently to each individual, it is in the power of no one to prolong or exceed its limits. This is the province of God alone, as is proved beyond all doubt by the promise of long life made by him to his people, and by his addition of fifteen years to the life of Hezekiah when at the point of death. The power of shortening or anticipating the term in question, on the contrary, is not the exclusive privilege of God, though this also is exercised by him, both for purposes of reward and punishment ; the

\* This seems to intimate a belief in the doctrine held by the Fathers and best divines, that if Adam had not sinned, he would not have died. The opinion is expressed in the same doubtful manner in a speech of Raphael :

. . . . . time may come, when men  
With angels may participate . . . . .  
And from these corporal nutriments perhaps  
Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,  
Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend  
Ethereal as we, or may at choice  
Here, or in heav'nly Paradieses dwell.

*Paradise Lost*, V. 493.

same effect may be, and in fact frequently is, produced by the crimes or vices of mortals themselves. *Prov.* x. 27. 'the fear of Jehovah prolongeth days, but the years of the wicked shall be shortened.' *Exod.* xx. 12. 'honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land,' &c. See also numerous passages to the same purpose, during the time of the law. *Psal.* lv. 23, 'bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days,' that is, they shall not live to the end of that term, to which by the constitution of their bodies they might otherwise have arrived; in which class are to be placed all those who lay violent hands on themselves, or who accelerate death by intemperate living.

✓ The providence of God is either ordinary or extraordinary.\*

✓ His ordinary providence is that whereby he upholds and preserves the immutable order of causes appointed by him in the beginning. This is commonly, and indeed too frequently, described by the name of nature; for nature cannot possibly mean anything but the mysterious power and efficacy of that divine voice which went forth in the beginning, and to which, as to a perpetual command, all things have since paid obedience. *Job* xxxviii. 12. 'hast thou commanded the morning since thy days?' v. 33. 'knowest thou the ordinances of heaven?' *Psal.* cxlviii. 8. 'fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind fulfilling

\* 'Qualitas providentiæ in duobus præcipue spectatur. 1. Quod alia sit ordinaria, alia vero extraordinaria . . . Providentia ordinaria est, qua Deus in hominum regimine ordinem a se ab initio institutum observat, et omnia convenienter naturæ, quam ipsis indidit, gubernat.' Curcell. *Institutio*, III. 12. 10.

his word.' *Isai.* xlv. 12. 'I have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded.' *Jer.* xxxi. 36. 'if those ordinances depart from before me.' xxxiii. 20. 'my covenant of the day and my covenant of the night.'

The extraordinary providence of God is that whereby God produces some effect out of the usual order of nature, or gives the power of producing the same effect to whomsoever he may appoint. This is what we call a miracle. Hence God alone is the primary author of miracles, as he only is able to invert that order of things which he has himself appointed. *Psal.* lxxii. 18. 'who only doeth wondrous things.' *John* x. 21. 'can a devil open the eyes of the blind?' *2 Thess.* ii. 9. 'whose coming is after the power of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders.'

The use of miracles is to manifest the divine power, and confirm our faith. *Exod.* vi. 6, 7. 'I will redeem you . . . with great judgements . . . and ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God.' viii. 22. 'I will sever in that day the land of Goshen . . . to the end thou mayest know that I am Jehovah.' *1 Kings* xvii. 24. 'now by this I know that thou art a man of God.' *Mark* xvi. 20. 'the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.' *Heb.* ii. 4. 'God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will.'

Miracles are also designed to increase the condemnation of unbelievers, by taking away all excuse for unbelief. *Matt.* xi. 21. 'woe unto thee, Chorazin . . . for if the mighty works which were done in you

had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago—.' *John xv. 24.* 'if I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin: but now they have no cloak for their sin.'

## CHAPTER IX.

### OF THE SPECIAL GOVERNMENT OF ANGELS.

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**T**HE *general government of Providence* has been hitherto the subject of consideration. The *special government* is that which embraces with peculiar regard angels and men, as beings far superior to the rest of the creation.

Angels are either good or evil, *Luke ix. 26. viii. 2.* for it appears that many of them revolted from God of their own accord before the fall of man. *John viii. 44.* 'he abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him: when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar, and the father of it.' 2 *Pet. ii. 4.* 'God spared not the angels that sinned.' *Jude 6.* 'the angels which kept not their first estate.' 1 *John iii. 8.* 'the devil sinneth from the beginning.' *Psal. cvi. 37.* 'they sacrificed unto devils.'

Some are of opinion that the good angels are now upheld, not so much by their own strength, as by the grace of God. 1 *Tim. v. 21.* 'the elect angels,' that is, who have not revolted.\* *Eph. i. 10.* 'that

\*Milton employs the word *elect* in opposition to the apostate angels, in the description of the first battle in heaven:

..... but those elect  
Angels, contented with their fame in Heav'n,  
Seek not the praise of men: the other sort,  
In might though wond'rous,— &c. *Paradise Lost*, VI. 374.



he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth.' *Job* iv. 18. 'his angels he charged with folly.' See also xv. 15. Hence arises, in their opinion, the delighted interest which the angels take in the mystery of man's salvation ;\* *1 Pet.* i. 12. 'which things the angels desire to look into.' *Eph.* iii. 10. 'that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God.' *Luke* ii. 13, 14. 'a multitude of the heavenly host praising God,' namely, on account of the birth of Christ. xv. 10. 'there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.' They assign the same reason for their worshipping Christ. *Heb.* i. 6. 'let all the angels of God worship him.' *Matt.* iv. 11. 'angels came and ministered unto him.' *Philipp.* ii. 10. 'at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven—.' *2 Thess.* i. 7. 'the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.' *1 Pet.* iii. 22. 'angels being made subject unto him.' *Rev.* v. 11, 12. 'worthy is the Lamb that was slain.' It seems, however, more agreeable to reason, to suppose that the good angels are upheld by their own strength no less than man himself was before his fall ;—that they are called *elect*, in the sense of beloved or excellent ;—that it is not from any interest of their own, but from their love to mankind, that they desire to look into the mystery of our salvation ;—that they

\* Nor less think we in heav'n of thee on earth  
Than of our fellow servant, and enquire  
Gladly into the ways of God with man.

*Paradise Lost*, VIII. 224.

are not comprehended in the covenant of reconciliation;—that, finally, they are included under Christ as their head, not as their Redeemer.\*

For the rest, they are represented as standing dispersed around the throne of God in the capacity of ministering agents.† *Deut.* xxxiii. 2. ‘he came with ten thousands of saints.’ 1 *Kings* xxii. 19. ‘I saw Jehovah sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left.’ *Job* i. 6. ‘there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before Jehovah.’ See also ii. 1. *Dan.* vii. 10. ‘ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him.’ *Matt.* xviii. 10. ‘their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.’ *Luke* i. 19. ‘I am Gabriel who stand in the presence of God.’

Praising God. *Job* xxxviii. 7. ‘all the sons of God shouted for joy.’ *Psal.* cxlviii. 2. ‘praise ye him, all his angels.’ *Neh.* ix. 6. ‘the host of heaven worshippeth thee.’ *Isai.* vi. 3. ‘one cried unto another and said, Holy, holy, holy.’ See also *Rev.* iv. 8. vii. 11. ‘the angels fall before the throne on their faces.’

They are obedient to God in all respects. *Gen.* xxviii. 12. ‘behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.’ *Psal.* ciii. 20. ‘his angels....that do his commandments.’ *Zech.* i. 10. ‘these are they

\* When the great ensign of Messiah blaz’d,  
 ..... Michael soon reduc’d  
 His army, circumfus’d on either wing,  
 Under their head embodied all in one. VI. 775.

† ..... Ye behold him, and with songs  
 And choral symphonies, day without night,  
 Circle his throne rejoicing. V. 161.

whom Jehovah hath sent to walk to and fro through the earth.'

Their ministry relates especially to believers.\* *Heb.* i. 14. 'are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?' *Psal.* xxxiv. 7. 'the angel of Jehovah encampeth round about them that fear him.' xci. 11. 'he shall give his angels charge over thee' *Isai.* lxiii. 9. 'the angel of his presence saved them.' *Matt.* xviii. 10. 'their angels do always behold the face of my Father.' xiii. 41. 'the Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend.' xxiv. 31. 'they shall gather together his elect from the four winds.' *Acts* xii. 15. 'it is his angel.' *1 Cor.* xi. 10. 'for this cause ought the woman to have power on her head because of the angels,' namely, as some think, (and numerous examples in confirmation of their opinion are not wanting) those angels whose office it was to be present at the religious assemblies of believers.†

\* The tutelary care of angels is incidentally alluded to in *Paradise Lost*:

..... except whom  
God and good angels guard by special grace. II. 1032.  
Subjected to his service angel wings  
And flaming ministers, to watch and tend  
Their earthly charge. IX. 155.  
Send me the angel of thy birth, to stand  
Fast by thy side. *Samson Agonistes*, 1431.  
..... some good angel bear  
A shield before us. *Comus*, 658.

† This is the interpretation of Grotius, Hammond, (who quotes from the Fathers in support of his opinion) Wolf, Doddridge, Pearce, &c. But Milton probably alluded to Tremellius, whose version he principally used, and whose note is as follows: 'Hujus autem rei testes sunt et observatores angeli in ecclesia Dei, ab externo ordine internam Dei gratiam et

Seven of these, in particular, are described as traversing the earth in the execution of their ministry.\* *Zech.* iv. 10. 'those seven are the eyes of Jehovah which run to and fro through the whole earth.' *Rev.* v. 6. 'which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.' See also i. 4. and iv. 5.

It appears also probable that there are certain angels appointed to preside over nations, kingdoms, and particular districts. *Dan.* iv. 13, 17. 'this matter is by the decree of the watchers.' xii. 1. 'Michael....the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people.' x. 13. 'I remained there with the kings of Persia.' 2 *Pet.* ii. 11. 'whereas angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord.' *Gen.* iii. 24. 'to keep the way of the tree of life.'

They are sometimes sent from heaven as messengers of the divine vengeance, to punish the sins of men. They destroy cities and nations. *Gen.* xix. 13. 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 16. 1 *Chron.* xxi. 16. 'David saw the angel of Jehovah....having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem.' They lay waste whole armies with unexpected destruction. 2 *Kings* xix. 35. Compare also other passages to the

pietatem membrorum optime recognoscentes. *Psal.* xxxiv. 8. et xci. 11. *Matt.* xviii. 10. *John* i. 52. *Eph.* iii. 10. 1 *Tim.* v. 21. *Heb.* i. 14. 1 *Pet.* i. 12.' These seem to have been the 'numerous examples' referred to above.

\* Th' Arch-Angel Uriel, one of the sev'n  
Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,  
Stand ready at command, and are his eyes  
That run through all the heav'ns, or down to th' earth  
Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,  
O'er sea and land. *Paradise Lost*, III. 648.

same effect. Hence they are frequently represented as making their appearance in the shape of an armed host. *Gen.* xxxii. 1, 2. 'this is God's host.' *Josh.* v. 15. 'the captain of the host of Jehovah.' *2 Kings* vi. 17. 'the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire.' *Psal.* lxviii. 17. 'the chariots of God are twenty thousand.' *Luke* ii. 13. 'a multitude of the heavenly host.'

Angels are also described *Isai.* vi. *Hos.* i. 7. *Matt.* xxviii. 2, 3. *Rev.* x. 1.

There appears to be one who presides over the rest of the good angels, to whom the name of Michael is often given.\* *Josh.* vi. 14. 'as captain of the host of Jehovah am I come.' *Dan.* xi. 13. 'Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me.' xii. 1. 'Michael shall stand up, the great prince.' *Rev.* xii. 7, 8. 'Michael and his angels fought against the dragon.' It is generally thought that Michael is Christ. But Christ vanquished the devil, and trampled him under foot singly; Michael, the leader of the angels, is introduced in the capacity of a hostile commander waging war with the prince of the devils, the armies on both sides being drawn out in battle array, and separating after a doubtful conflict.† *Rev.* xii. 7, 8. *Jude* also says of the same angel, 'when contending with

\* Go, Michael, of celestial armies prince.

*Paradise Lost*, VI. 44.

† So in the description of the first fight in *Paradise Lost*, which is borrowed from the prophecy in the Apocalypse quoted above, 'long time in even scale the battle hung,' till at last Michael, 'the prince of angels,' engages in single combat with the Adversary:

... from each hand with speed retir'd,  
Where erst was thickest fight, th' angelic throng,  
And left large field. VI. 307.

the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, he durst not bring against him a railing accusation,?— which would be an improper expression to use with reference to Christ, especially if he be God. 1 *Thess.* iv. 16. ‘ the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with the voice of the archangel.’ Besides, it seems strange that an apostle of Christ, in revealing things till then so new and unheard-of concerning his master, should express himself thus obscurely, and should even shadow the person of Christ under a difference of name.

The good angels do not look into all the secret things of God, as the Papists pretend ; some things indeed they know by revelation, and others by means of the excellent intelligence with which they are gifted ; there is much, however, of which they are ignorant. An angel is introduced inquiring *Dan.* viii. 13. ‘ how long shall be the vision ?’ xii. 6. ‘ how long shall it be to the end of these wonders ?’ *Matt.* xxiv. 36. ‘ of that day knoweth no man, no, not even the angels in heaven.’ *Eph.* iii. 10. ‘ to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God.’ *Rev.* v. 3. ‘ no man in heaven was able to open the book.’

The evil angels are reserved for punishment. *Matt.* viii. 29. ‘ art thou come hither to torment us before the time ?’ 2 *Pet.* ii. 4. ‘ God cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgement.’ *Jude* 6. ‘ he hath reserved them in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgement of the great day.’ 1 *Cor.* vi. 3. ‘ know ye not that we shall judge angels ?’ *Matt.* xxv. 41.

‘everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.’ *Rev.* xx. 10. ‘they shall be tormented for ever and ever.’

They are sometimes, however, permitted to wander throughout the whole earth, the air, and heaven itself, to execute the judgements of God.\* *Job* i. 7. ‘from going to and fro in the earth.’ 1 *Sam.* xvi. 15. ‘the Spirit of Jehovah departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him.’ 1 *Pet.* v. 8. ‘the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about.’ *John* xii. 31. ‘the prince of this world.’ 2 *Cor.* iv. 4. the god of this world.’ *Matt.* xii. 43. ‘he walketh through dry places.’ *Eph.* ii. 2. ‘according to the prince of the power of the air.’ vi. 12. ‘against spiritual wickedness in high places.’ They are even admitted into the presence of God. *Job* i. 6. ii. 1. 1 *Kings* xxii. 21. ‘there came forth a spirit, and stood before Jehovah.’ *Zech.* iii. 1. ‘he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of Jehovah, and Satan standing at his right hand to resist him.’ *Luke* x. 18. ‘I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.’ *Rev.* xii. 12. ‘woe to the inhabitants of the earth, for the devil is come down unto you.’ Their proper place, however, is the bottomless pit, from which they cannot escape without

\* . . . do him mightier service as his thralls  
By right of war, whate’er his business be,  
Here in the heart of hell to work in fire,  
Or do his errands in the gloomy deep.

*Paradise Lost*, l. 148.

. . . . . the spirits perverse  
With easy intercourse pass to and fro  
To tempt or punish mortals. II. 1031.

permission.\* *Luke* viii. 31. 'they besought him that he would not command them to go out into the deep.' *Matt.* xii. 43. 'he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none.' *Mark* v. 10. 'he besought him much that he would not send them away out of the country.' *Rev.* xx. 3. 'and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up.' Nor can they do anything without the command of God. *Job* i. 12. 'Jehovah said unto Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy power.' *Matt.* viii. 31. 'suffer us to go away into the herd of swine.' *Rev.* xx. 2. 'he laid hold on the dragon....and bound him a thousand years.'

Their knowledge is great, but such as tends rather to aggravate than diminish their misery; so that they utterly despair of their salvation.† *Matt.* viii. 29. 'what have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the

\* So stretch'd out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay,  
Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence  
Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will  
And high permission of all-ruling heav'n  
Left him at large to his own dark designs.

*Paradise Lost*, I. 209.

† . . . . . his doom  
Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought  
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain  
Torments him— I. 52.

. . . . . hope never comes  
That comes to all. I. 66.

. . . . . We are decreed,  
Reserv'd, and destin'd to eternal woe;  
Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,  
What can we suffer worse? II. 159.

Me miserable! which way shall I fly  
Infinite wrath, and infinite despair? IV. 73.



time?' See also *Luke* iv. 34. *James* ii. 19. 'the devils believe and tremble,' knowing that they are reserved for punishment, as has been shown.

The devils also have their prince. *Matt.* xii 24. 'Beelzebub, the prince of the devils.' See also *Luke* xi. 15. *Matt.* xxv. 41. 'the devil and his angels.' *Rev.* xii. 9. 'the great dragon was cast out. ..and his angels.' They retain likewise their respective ranks.\* *Col.* ii 15. 'having spoiled principalities and powers.' *Eph.* vi. 12. 'against principalities, against powers.' Their leader is the author of all wickedness, and the opponent of all good. *Job* i. and ii. *Zech.* iii. 1. 'Satan.' *John* viii. 44. 'the father of lies.' 1 *Thess.* ii. 18. 'Satan hindered us.' *Acts* v. 3. 'Satan hath filled thine heart.' *Rev.* xx. 3, 8. 'that he should deceive the nations no more.' *Eph.* ii. 2. 'the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.' Hence he has obtained many names corresponding to his actions. He is frequently called *Satan*, that is, an enemy or adversary,† *Job* i. 6. 1 *Chron.* xxi. 1. 'the great dragon, that old serpent, the devil,' that is, the false accuser. *Rev.* xii. 9. 'the accuser of the brethren, v. 10. 'the unclean

\*The Stygian council thus dissolv'd, and forth  
In order came the grand infernal peers :  
Midst came their mighty Paramount—

*Paradise Lost*, II. 506.

† . . . . . To whom th' Arch-Enemy,  
And thence in heav'n call'd Satan.— I. 81.  
. . . . . the Adversary of God and man,  
Satan— II. 629.

High proof ye now have giv'n to be the race  
Of Satan (for I glory in the name  
Antagonist of heav'n's Almighty King.)

X. 385. See also VI. 281.

spirit.' *Matt.* xii. 43. 'the tempter,'\* iv. 3. 'Abaddon....Apollyon,' that is, the destroyer,† *Rev.* ix. 11. 'a great red dragon,' xii. 3.

\* The tempter ere th' accuser of mankind.

*Paradise Lost*, IV. 10.

† . . . . . who bids abstain

But our Destroyer, foe to God and man ? IV. 749.

## CHAPTER X.

OF THE SPECIAL GOVERNMENT OF MAN BEFORE THE  
FALL, INCLUDING THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE SAB-  
BATH AND OF MARRIAGE.

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**T**HE Providence of God, as regards mankind, relates to man either in his state of rectitude, or since his fall.

With regard to that which relates to man in his state of rectitude, God, having placed him in the garden of Eden, and furnished him with whatever was calculated to make life happy, commanded him, as a test of his obedience, to refrain from eating of the single tree of knowledge of good and evil, under penalty of death if he should disregard the injunction.\* *Gen. i. 28.* 'subdue the earth, and have dominion—.' ii. 15—17. 'he put him into the garden of Eden... of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat; but in the day that thou eatest of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt surely die.'

\* ..... well thou know'st

God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,  
The only sign of our obedience left.

*Paradise Lost, IV. 426.*

..... lest the like befall

In Paradise to Adam or his race  
Charg'd not to touch the interdicted tree,  
If they transgress, and alight that sole command,  
So easily obey'd amid the choice  
Of all tastes else to please their appetite,  
Though wand'ring. VII. 44.

This is sometimes called *the covenant of works*,\* though it does not appear from any passage of Scripture to have been either a covenant, or of works. No works whatever are required of Adam; a particular act only is forbidden. It was necessary that something should be forbidden or commanded as a test of fidelity, and that an act in its own nature indifferent, in order that man's obedience might be thereby manifested. For since it was the disposition of man to do what was right, as a being naturally good and holy, it was not necessary that he should be bound by the obligation of a covenant to perform that to which he was of himself inclined;† nor would he have given any proof of obedience by the performance of works to which he was led by a natural impulse, independently of the divine command. Not to mention, that no command, whether proceeding from God or from a magistrate, can properly be called a covenant, even where rewards and punishments are attached to it; but rather an exercise of jurisdiction.

The tree of knowledge of good and evil was not a sacrament, as it is generally called;‡ for a sacrament ✓

\* So Bishop Taylor. 'I find in Scripture no mention made of any such covenant as is dreamt of about the matter of original sin: only the covenant of works God did make with all men till Christ came; but he did never exact it after Adam.' Works, IX. 399. And in his treatise on *The Doctrine and Practice of Repentance*, Gen. ii. 17. is quoted as the first of the texts to prove 'the old covenant, or the covenant of works.' VIII. 303.

† 'Were it merely natural, why was it here ordained more than the rest of moral law to man in his original rectitude, in whose breast all that was natural or moral was engraven without external constitutions and edicts?' *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 133.

‡ 'That some of the objects in Eden were of a sacramental nature we can hardly doubt, when we read of the tree of knowledge, and of the

is a thing to be used, not abstained from : but a pledge, as it were, and memorial of obedience.

It was called the tree of knowledge of good and evil from the event ; for since Adam tasted it, we not only know evil, but we know good only by means of evil.\* For it is by evil that virtue is chiefly exercised, and shines with greater brightness.

The tree of life, in my opinion, ought not to be considered so much a sacrament,† as a symbol of eternal life, or rather perhaps the nutriment by which that life is sustained. *Gen.* iii. 22. ‘lest he take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever.’ *Rev.* ii. 7. ‘to him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life.’

Seeing, however, that man was made in the image of God, and had the whole law of nature so implanted and innate in him, that he needed no precept to enforce its observance, it follows, that if he received any additional commands, whether respecting the tree of knowledge, or the institution of marriage, these commands formed no part of the law of nature, which is sufficient of itself to teach whatever is agreeable to right reason, that is to say, whatever is intrinsically good.‡ Such commands must therefore have

tree of life.’ Bp. Horne’s *Sermon on the Garden of Eden*. See also his two Sermons on *the Tree of Knowledge and of Life*.

\* ‘Perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to say, of knowing good by evil.’ *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*. Prose Works, I. 299.

..... the tree of knowledge grew fast by,  
Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.

*Paradise Lost*, IV. 222.

† ‘The church began in innocence, and yet it began with a sacrament, the tree of life—.’ Bp. Taylor. *Works*, I. 149.

‡ See the passage quoted from our author’s *Tetrachordon*, page 207, note.

been founded on what is called positive right, whereby God, or any one invested with lawful power, commands or forbids what is in itself neither good nor bad, and what therefore would not have been obligatory on any one, had there been no law to enjoin or prohibit it. With regard to the Sabbath, it is clear that God hallowed it to himself, and dedicated it to rest, in remembrance of the consummation of his work;\* *Gen.* ii. 2, 3. *Exod.* xxxi. 17. Whether its institution was ever made known to Adam, or whether any commandment relative to its observance was given previous to the delivery of the law on Mount Sinai, much less whether any such was given before the fall of man, cannot be ascertained, Scripture being silent on the subject. The most probable supposition is, that Moses, who seems to have written the book of Genesis much later than the promulgation of the law, inserted this sentence from the fourth commandment, into what appeared a suitable place for it; where an opportunity was afforded for reminding the Israelites, by a natural and easy transition, of the reason assigned by God, many ages after the event itself, for his command with regard to the observance of the Sabbath by the covenanted people. An instance of a similar insertion occurs *Exod.* xvi. 33, 34. ‘Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein....so Aaron laid it up;’ which however did not take place till long afterwards. The injunction respecting the celebration of

\* ..... from work

Now resting, bless'd and hallow'd the sev'nth day,  
As resting on that day from all his work.

*Paradise Lost*, VII. 590.

the Sabbath in the wilderness, *Exod.* xvi. a short time previous to the delivery of the law, namely, that no one should go out to gather manna on the seventh morning, because God had said that he would not rain it from heaven on that day, seems rather to have been intended as a preparatory notice, the groundwork, as it were, of a law for the Israelites, to be delivered shortly afterwards in a clearer manner: they having been previously ignorant of the mode of observing the Sabbath. Compare v. 5. with v. 22—30. For the rulers of the congregation, who ought to have been better acquainted than the rest with the commandment of the Sabbath, if any such institution then existed, wondered why the people gathered twice as much on the sixth day, and appealed to Moses; who then, as if announcing something new, proclaimed to them that the morrow would be the Sabbath. After which, as if he had already related in what manner the Sabbath was for the first time observed, he proceeds, v. 30. ‘so the people rested on the seventh day.’

That the Israelites had not so much as heard of the Sabbath before this time, seems to be confirmed by several passages of the prophets. *Ezek.* xx. 10—12. ‘I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness; and I gave them my statutes, and showed them my judgements ...moreover also I gave them my sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am Jehovah that sanctify them.’ *Neh.* ix. 13, 14. ‘thou camest down also upon Mount Sinai...and gavest them right judgements.....and madest known unto them thy holy sabbath, and commandedst them

precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant.' This subject, however, will come again under discussion, Book II. Chap. vii.

With regard to marriage, it is clear that it was instituted, if not commanded, at the creation, and that it consisted in the mutual love, society, help, and comfort of the husband and wife, though with a reservation of superior rights to the husband.\* *Gen.* ii. 18. 'it is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.' *1 Cor.* xi. 7—9. 'for a man....is the image of the glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man: for the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man; neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man.' The power of the husband was even increased after the fall. *Gen.* iii. 16. 'thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.' Therefore the word *בעל* in the Hebrew signifies both husband and lord. Thus Sarah is represented as calling her husband Abraham *lord*, *1 Pet.* iii. 6.

\* See *Tetrachordon*. 'It might be doubted, &c.....lost by her means.' *Prose Works*, II. 121, 122. 'What an injury is it after wedlock.....to be contended with in point of house rule who shall be the head...."I suffer not," saith St. Paul, "the woman to usurp authority over the man." If the apostle would not suffer it, into what mould is he mortified that can?" *Doctrine, &c. of Divorce*, II. 36.

.... Was she made thy guide,  
Superior, or but equal, that to her  
Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place  
Wherein God set thee above her made of thee?

*Paradise Lost*, X. 146. See also XI. 291, 634—636.

Therefore God's universal law  
Gave to the man despotic power  
Over his female in due awe,  
Nor from that right to part an hour,  
Smile she or lower. *Samson Agonistes*, 1064.



1 *Tim.* ii. 12—14, ‘I suffer not a woman to teach nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence : for Adam was first formed, then Eve ; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression.’

Marriage, therefore, is a most intimate connection of man with woman, ordained by God, for the purpose either of the procreation of children, or of the relief and solace of life. Hence it is said, *Gen.* ii. 24. ‘therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.’ This is neither a law nor a commandment, but an effect or natural consequence of that most intimate union which would have existed between them in the perfect state of man ; nor is the passage intended to serve any other purpose, than to account for the origin of families.

In the definition which I have given, I have not said, in compliance with the common opinion, *of one man with one woman*, lest I should by implication charge the holy patriarchs and pillars of our faith, Abraham and the others who had more than one wife at the same time, with habitual fornication and adultery ; and lest I should be forced to exclude from the sanctuary of God as spurious, the holy offspring which sprang from them, yea, the whole of the sons of Israel, for whom the sanctuary itself was made. For it is said, *Deut.* xxiii. 2. ‘a bastard shall not enter into the congregation of Jehovah, even to his tenth generation.’ Either therefore polygamy is a true marriage,\* or all children born in

\* ‘Certain it is that whereas *other nations used a liberty not unnatural*, for one man to have many wives, the Britons altogether as licentious

that state are spurious ; which would include the whole race of Jacob, the twelve holy tribes chosen by God. But as such an assertion would be absurd in the extreme, not to say impious, and as it is the height of injustice, as well as an example of most dangerous tendency in religion, to account as sin what is not such in reality ;\* it appears to me, that, so far from the question respecting the lawfulness of polygamy being trivial, it is of the highest importance that it should be decided.

Those who deny its lawfulness, attempt to prove their position from *Gen. ii. 24.* 'a man shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh,' compared with *Matt. xix. 5.* 'they twain shall be one flesh.' A man shall cleave, they say, to his wife, not to his wives, and they twain, and no more, shall be one flesh. This is certainly ingenious ; and I therefore subjoin the passage in *Exod. xx. 17.* 'thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass :' whence

but more absurd and preposterous in their license, had one or many wives in common among ten or twelve husbands.' *History of England. Prose Works, IV. 68.* With the exception of this hint, I am not aware of any passage in Milton's printed works which contains a clew to his opinions respecting polygamy. His history was written just before he became Latin Secretary to the Council, about the year 1650 ; and it is observable that although, according to the above quotation, he appears to have been inclined in favour of the practice, he then admitted its licentiousness.

† See the title to *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* ;—'wherein also are set down the bad consequences of abolishing, or condemning of sin, that which the law of God allows, and Christ abolished not.' *Prose Works, I. 332.* 'In these opinions it would be more religion to advise well, lest we make ourselves jester than God, by censuring rashly that for sin, which his unspotted law without rebuke allows, and his people without being conscious of displeasing him have used.' *Doctrine, &c. H. 32.*

it would follow that no one had more than a single house, a single man-servant, a single maid-servant, a single ox, or ass. It would be ridiculous to argue, that it is not said houses, but house, not man-servants but man-servant, not even neighbours, but neighbour ; as if it were not the general custom, in laying down commandments of this kind, to use the singular number, not in a numerical sense, but as designating the species of the thing intended. With regard to the phrase, 'they twain,' and not more, 'shall be one flesh,' it is to be observed, first, that the context refers to the husband and that wife only whom he was seeking to divorce, without intending any allusion to the number of his wives, whether one or more. Secondly, marriage is in the nature of a relation ; and to one relation there can be no more than two parties. In the same sense therefore as if a man has many sons, his paternal relation towards them all is manifold, but towards each individually is single and complete in itself ; by parity of reasoning, if a man has many wives, the relation which he bears to each will not be less perfect in itself, nor will the husband be less 'one flesh' with each of them, than if he had only one wife. Thus it might be properly said of Abraham, with regard to Sarah and Hagar respectively, 'these twain were one flesh.' And with good reason ; for whoever consorts with harlots, however many in number, is still said to be one flesh with each ; 1 *Cor.* vi. 16. 'what, know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot is one body ? for two, saith he, shall be one flesh.' The expression may therefore be applied as properly to the husband who has many wives, as to him who has only one. Hence it fol-

lows that the commandment in question (though in fact it is no commandment at all, as has been shown) contains nothing against polygamy, either in the way of direct prohibition or implied censure ; unless we are to suppose that the law of God, as delivered by Moses, was at variance with his prior declarations ; or that, though the passage in question had been frequently inspected by a multitude of priests, and Levites, and prophets, men of all ranks, of holiest lives and most acceptable to God, the fury of their passions was such as to hurry them by a blind impulse into habitual fornication ; for to this supposition are we reduced, if there be anything in the present precept which renders polygamy incompatible with lawful marriage.

Another text from which the unlawfulness of polygamy is maintained, is *Lev. xviii. 18.* ‘neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life time.’ Here Junius translates the passage *mulierem unam ad alteram*, instead of *mulierem ad sororem suam*, in order that from this forced and inadmissible interpretation he may elicit an argument against polygamy. In drawing up a law, as in composing a definition, it is necessary that the most exact and appropriate words should be used, and that they should be interpreted not in their metaphorical, but in their proper signification. He says, indeed, that the same words are found in the same sense in other passages. This is true ; but it is only where the context precludes the possibility of any ambiguity, as in *Gen. xxvi. 31. juraverunt vir fratri suo*, that is, *alteri*, ‘they swore one to another.’ No one would infer from this passage that

Isaac was the brother of Abimelech ; nor would any one, on the other hand, entertain a doubt that the passage in Leviticus was intended as a prohibition against taking a wife to her sister ; particularly as the preceding verses of this chapter treat of the degrees of affinity to which intermarriage is forbidden. Moreover this would be to *uncover her nakedness*, the evil against which the law in question was intended to guard ; whereas the caution would be unnecessary in the case of taking another wife not related or allied to the former ; for no nakedness would be thereby uncovered. Lastly, why is the clause *in her life time* added ? For there could be no doubt of its being lawful after her death to marry another who was neither related nor allied to her, though it might be questionable whether it were lawful to marry a wife's sister. It is objected, that marriage with a wife's sister is forbidden by analogy in the sixteenth verse, and therefore a second prohibition was unnecessary. I answer, first, that there is in reality no analogy between the two passages ; for that by marrying a brother's wife, the brother's nakedness is uncovered ; whereas by marrying a wife's sister, it is not a sister's nakedness, but only that of a kinswoman by marriage, which is uncovered. Besides, if nothing were to be prohibited which had been before prohibited by analogy, why is marriage with a mother forbidden, when marriage with a father had been already declared unlawful ? or why marriage with a mother's sister, when marriage with a father's sister had been prohibited ? If this reasoning be allowed, it follows that more than half the laws relating to incest are unnecessary. Lastly, whereas the prevention of enmity is alleged

as the principal motive for the law before us, it is obvious, that if the intention had been to condemn polygamy, reasons of a much stronger kind might have been urged from the nature of the original institution, as was done in the ordinance of the Sabbath.\*

A third passage which is advanced, *Deut. xvii. 17.* is so far from condemning polygamy, either in a king, or in any one else, that it expressly allows it; and only imposes the same restraints upon this condition which are laid upon the multiplication of horses, or the accumulation of treasure; as will appear from the seventeenth and eighteenth verses.

Except the three passages which are thus irrelevantly adduced, not a trace appears of the interdiction of polygamy throughout the whole law; nor even in any of the prophets, who were at once the rigid interpreters of the law, and the habitual reprovers of the vices of the people. The only shadow of an exception occurs in a passage of Malachi, the last of the prophets, which some consider as decisive against polygamy. It would be indeed a late and postliminous enactment, if that were for the first time prohibited after the Babylonish captivity which ought to have been prohibited many ages before. For if it had been really a sin, how could it have escaped the reprehension of so many prophets who preceded him? We may safely conclude that if polygamy be not forbidden in the law, neither is it forbidden here; for

\* 'But they were to look back to the first institution; nay rather why was not that individual institution brought out of Paradise, as was that of the Sabbath, and repeated in the body of the law, that man might have understood it to be a command?' *Doctrine, &c. II. 29.*

Malachi was not the author of a new law. Let us however see the words themselves as translated by Junius, ii. 15. *Nonne unum effecit? quamvis reliqui spiritus ipsi essent: quid autem unam?* It would be rash and unreasonable indeed, if, on the authority of so obscure a passage, and one which has been tortured and twisted by different interpreters into such a variety of meanings, we were to form a conclusion on so important a subject, and to impose it upon others as an article of faith.\* But whatever be the signification of the words *nonne unum effecit*, what do they prove? are we, for the sake of drawing an inference against polygamy, to understand the phrase thus—*did not he make one woman?* But the gender, and even the case, are at variance with this interpretation; for nearly all the other commentators render the words as follows: *annon unus fecit? et residuum spiritus ipsi? et quid ille unus?* We ought not therefore to draw any conclusion from a passage like the present in behalf of a doctrine which is either not mentioned elsewhere, or only in doubtful terms; but rather conclude that the prophet's design was to reprove a practice which the whole of Scripture concurs in reproofing, and which forms the principal subject of the very chapter in question, v. 11—16. namely, marriage with *the daughter of a strange god*; a corruption very

\* Though the words of this difficult clause are rendered very variously by the different commentators, yet, with the exception of Grotius, who explains the passage with reference to the origin of souls *ex traduce* from our natural parents, nearly all agree in considering it as an argument against polygamy. The interpretation which Milton seems to prefer, is suggested by Tirinus and Menochius. See Poole's *Synopsis* in loc.

prevalent among the Jews of that time, as we learn from Ezra and Nehemiah.\*

With regard to the words of Christ, *Matt.* v. 32. and xix. 5. the passage from *Gen.* ii. 24. is repeated not for the purpose of condemning polygamy, but of reproving the unrestrained liberty of divorce, which is • a very different thing; nor can the words be made to apply to any other subject without evident violence to their meaning. For the argument which is deduced from *Matt.* v. 32. that if a man who marries another after putting away his first wife, committeth adultery, much more must he commit adultery who retains the first and marries another, ought itself to be repudiated as an illegitimate conclusion.† For in

\* ‘It wrought so little disorder among the Jews, that from Moses till after the captivity, not one of the prophets thought it worth the rebuking; for that of Malachi well looked into will appear to be not against divorcing, but rather against keeping strange concubines, to the vexation of the Hebrew wives.’ *Doctrine, &c. Prose Works*, II. 61. ‘He that reads attentively will soon perceive, that God blames not here the Jews for putting away their wives, but for keeping strange concubines, to the *profaning of Judah’s holiness*, and the vexation of their Hebrew wives, v. 11. and 14. *Judah hath married the daughter of a strange god*: and exhorts them rather to put away their wives whom they hate, as the law permitted, than to keep them under such affronts. And it is received, that this prophet lived in those times of Ezra and Nehemiah (nay by some it is thought to be Ezra himself) when the people were forced by these two worthies to put their strange wives away. So that what the story of those times, and the plain context of the 11th verse, from whence this rebuke begins, can give us to conjecture of the obscure and curt Ebraisms that follow, this prophet does not forbid putting away, but forbids keeping, and commands putting away according to God’s law, which is the plainest interpreter both of what God will, and what he can best suffer.’ *Tetrachordon*, II. 146.

† The original of this sentence affords no satisfactory sense. ‘*Id ejusmodi est profecto, ut argumentum ipsum pro adulterio sit protinus repudiandum.*’ The fondness for that play upon words which is so characteristic of Milton, and of which, as has been already observed (see p. 17.)



the first place, it is the divine precepts themselves that are obligatory, not the consequences deduced from them by human reasoning ; for what appears a reasonable inference to one individual, may not be equally obvious to another of similar discernment. Secondly, he who puts away his wife and marries another, is not said to commit adultery because he marries another, but because in consequence of his marriage with another he does not retain his former wife, to whom also he owed the performance of conjugal duties ; whence it is expressly said, *Mark* x. 11. ‘ he committeth adultery against her.’ That he is in a condition to perform his conjugal duties to the one, after having taken another to her, is shown by God himself, *Exod.* xxi. 10. ‘ if he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish.’ It cannot be supposed that the divine forethought intended to provide for adultery.

Nor is it allowable to argue, from *1 Cor.* vii. 2. ‘ let every man have his own wife,’ that therefore none should have more than one ; for the meaning of the precept is, that every man should have his own wife to himself, not that he should have but one wife. That bishops and elders should have no more than one wife is explicitly enjoined *1 Tim.* iii. 2. and *Tit.* i. 6. ‘ he must be the husband of one wife,’ in order probably that they may discharge with greater diligence the ecclesiastical duties which they have undertaken. The command itself, however, is a suffi-

this treatise furnishes numerous examples, renders it not improbable that it was originally written *pro adulterino* ; for which the *amenuensis* employed in transcribing this part of the manuscript, substituted the more common word *adulterio*.

cient proof that polygamy was not forbidden to the rest, and that it was common in the church at that time.

Lastly, in answer to what is urged from 1 *Cor.* vii. 4. 'likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife,' it is easy to reply, as was done above, that the word *wife* in this passage is used with reference to the species, and not to the number. Nor can the power of the wife over the body of her husband be different now from what it was under the law, where it is called נָשִׂא, *Exod.* xxi. 10. and signifies *her stated times*, which St. Paul expresses in the present chapter by the phrase, *her due benevolence*. With regard to what is *due*, the Hebrew word is sufficiently explicit.\*

On the other hand, the following passages clearly admit the lawfulness of polygamy. *Exod.* xxi. 10. 'if he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish.' *Deut.* xvii. 17. 'neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away.' Would the law have been so loosely worded, if it had not been allowable to take more wives than one at the same time? Who would venture to subjoin as an inference from this language, therefore let him have one only? In such case, since it is said in the preceding verse, 'he shall not multiply horses to himself,' it would be necessary to subjoin there also, therefore he shall have one horse only. Nor do we want any proof to assure us, that the first institution of marriage was intended to bind the prince equally with the people;

\* ... Love's *due* rites, nuptial embraces sweet.

*Paradise Lost*, X. 994.

if therefore it permits only one wife, it permits no more even to the prince. But the reason given for the law is this, 'that his heart turn not away;' a danger which would arise if he were to marry many, and especially strange women, as Solomon afterwards did. Now if the present law had been intended merely as a confirmation and vindication of the primary institution of marriage, nothing could have been more appropriate than to have recited the institution itself in this place, and not to have advanced that reason alone which has been mentioned.

Let us hear the words of God himself, the author of the law, and the best interpreter of his own will. *2 Sam.* xii. 8. 'I gave thee thy master's wives into thy bosom....and if that had been too little, I would moreover have given unto thee such and such things.' Here there can be no subterfuge; God gave him wives, he gave them to the man whom he loved, as one among a number of great benefits; he would have given him more, if these had not been enough. Besides, the very argument which God uses towards David, is of more force when applied to the gift of wives, than to any other,—thou oughtest at least to have abstained from the wife of another person, not so much because I had given thee thy master's house, or thy master's kingdom, as because I had given thee the wives of the king. Beza indeed objects, that David herein committed incest, namely, with the wives of his father-in-law.\* But he had forgotten

\* 'Deinde, si valeret Ochini argumentum, profecto non tantum polygamiam sed etiam incestus probaret; si quidem consanguinei uxoris eodem gradu junguntur viro quo ipsi uxori. Itaque non magis licuit Davidi ducere uxoris sue Michal novercas, quam suam ipsius novercam.' Beza *De Polygamia*.

what is indicated by *Esther* ii. 12, 13. that the kings of Israel had two houses for the women, one appointed for the virgins, the other for the concubines, and that it was the former and not the latter which were given to David. This appears also from 1 *Kings* i. 4. 'the king knew her not.' *Cantic.* vi. 8. 'there are fourscore concubines, and virgins without number.' At the same time it might be said with perfect propriety that God had given him his master's wives, even supposing that he had only given him as many in number and of the same description, though not the very same; even as he gave him, not indeed the identical house and retinue of his master, but one equally magnificent and royal.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that what the authority of the law, and the voice of God himself has sanctioned, should be alluded to by the holy prophets in their inspired hymns as a thing lawful and honourable. *Psal.* xlv. 9. (which is entitled 'A song of loves') 'kings' daughters were among thy honourable women.' v. 14. 'the virgins her companions that follow her shall be brought unto thee.' Nay, the words of this very song are quoted by the apostle to the *Hebrews*, i. 8. 'unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God,' &c. as the words wherein God the Father himself addresses the Son, and in which his divinity is asserted more clearly than in any other passage. Would it have been proper for God the Father to speak by the mouth of harlots, and to manifest his holy Son to mankind as God in the amatory songs of adulteresses? Thus also in *Cantic.* vi. 8—10. the queens and concubines are evidently mentioned with honour, and are all without distinction

considered worthy of celebrating the praises of the bride ; ' there are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number....the daughters saw her and blessed her ; yea, the queens and the concubines, and they praised her.' Nor must we omit 2 *Chron.* xxiv. 2, 3. ' Joash did that which was right in the sight of the Lord all the days of Jehoiada the priest : and Jehoiada took for him two wives.' For the two clauses are not placed in contrast, or disjoined from each other, but it is said in one and the same connection that under the guidance of Jehoiada he did that which was right, and that by the authority of the same individual he married two wives. This is contrary to the usual practice in the eulogies of the kings, where, if to the general character anything blameable be subjoined, it is expressly excepted ; 1 *Kings* xv. 5. ' save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite.' v. 11, 14. ' and Asa did that which was right....but the high places were not removed : nevertheless Asa's heart was perfect.' Since therefore the right conduct of Joash is mentioned in unqualified terms, in conjunction with his double marriage, it is evident that the latter was not considered matter of censure ; for the sacred historian would not have neglected so suitable an opportunity of making the customary exception, if there had really been anything which deserved disapprobation.

Moreover, God himself in an allegorical fiction, *Ezek.* xxiii. 4. represents himself as having espoused two wives, Aholah and Aholibah ; a mode of speaking which he would by no means have employed, especially at such length, even in a parable, nor indeed have taken on himself such a character at all, if the

practice which it implied had been intrinsically dishonourable or shameful.

On what grounds, however, can a practice be considered dishonourable or shameful, which is prohibited to no one even under the gospel? for that dispensation annuls none of the merely civil regulations which existed previous to its introduction.\* It is only enjoined that elders and deacons should be chosen from such as were husbands of one wife. 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. and *Tit.* i. 6. This implies, not that to be the husband of more than one wife would be a sin, for in that case the restriction would have been equally imposed on all; but that, in proportion as they were less entangled in domestic affairs, they would be more at leisure for the business of the church. Since therefore polygamy is interdicted in this passage to the ministers of the church alone, and that not on account of any sinfulness in the practice, and since none of the other members are precluded from it either here or elsewhere, it follows that it was permitted, as above-said, to all the remaining members of the church, and that it was adopted by many without offence.

Lastly, I argue as follows from *Heb.* xiii. 4. Polygamy is either marriage, or fornication, or adultery; the apostle recognizes no fourth state. Reverence for so many patriarchs who were polygamists will, I trust, deter any one from considering it as fornication or adultery; for 'whoremongers and adulterers God will judge;' whereas the patriarchs were the objects of his especial favour, as he himself witnesses.

\* 'Sciunt enim qui labris aliquanto primoribus evangelium gustarunt, ecclesiæ gubernationem divinam esse totam ac spiritualement, non civilem.' *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio.* Prose Works, V. 196.

If then polygamy be marriage properly so called, it is also lawful and honourable, according to the same apostle : ‘ marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled.’

It appears to me sufficiently established by the above arguments, that polygamy is allowed by the law of God ; lest however any doubt should remain, I will subjoin abundant examples of men whose holiness renders them fit patterns for imitation, and who are among the lights of our faith. Foremost I place Abraham, the father of all the faithful, and of the holy seed, *Gen.* xvi. 1, &c. Jacob, chap. xxx. and, if I mistake not, Moses, *Numb.* xii. 1. ‘ for he had married [a *Cushite*, Marginal Translation, or] *an Ethiopian woman.*’ It is not likely that the wife of Moses, who had been so often spoken of before by her proper name of Zipporah, should now be called by the new title of a Cushite ; or that the anger of Aaron and Miriam should at this time be suddenly kindled, because Moses forty years before had married Zipporah ; nor would they have acted thus scornfully towards one whom the whole house of Israel had gone out to meet on her arrival with her father Jethro. If then he married the Cushite during the lifetime of Zipporah, his conduct in this particular received the express approbation of God himself, who moreover punished with severity the unnatural opposition of Aaron and his sister. Next I place Gideon, that signal example of faith and piety, *Judg.* viii. 30, 31. and Elkanah, a rigid Levite, the father of Samuel ; who was so far from believing himself less acceptable to God on account of his double marriage, that he took with him his two wives every year to the sacrifices and an-

nual worship, into the immediate presence of God ; nor was he therefore reproved, but went home blessed with Samuel, a child of excellent promise, 1 *Sam.* ii. 10. Passing over several other examples, though illustrious, such as Caleb, 1 *Chron.* ii. 46, 48. vii. 1. 4. the sons of Issachar, in number, ‘ six and thirty thousand men, for they had many wives and sons,’ contrary to the modern European practice, where in many places the land is suffered to remain uncultivated for want of population ; and also Manasseh, the son of Joseph, 1 *Chron.* vii. 14. I come to the prophet David, whom God loved beyond all men, and who took two wives, besides Michal ; and this not in a time of pride and prosperity, but when he was almost bowed down by adversity, and when, as we learn from many of the psalms, he was entirely occupied in the study of the word of God, and in the right regulation of his conduct. 1 *Sam.* xxv. 42, 43. and afterwards, 2 *Sam.* v. 12, 13. ‘ David perceived that Jehovah had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for his people Israel’s sake : and David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem.’ Such were the motives, such the honourable and holy thoughts whereby he was influenced, namely, by the consideration of God’s kindness towards him for his people’s sake. His heavenly and prophetic understanding saw not in that primitive institution what we in our blindness fancy we discern so clearly ; nor did he hesitate to proclaim in the supreme council of the nation the pure and honourable motives to which, as he trusted, his children born in polygamy owed their existence. 1 *Chron.* xxviii. 5. ‘ of all my sons, for Jehovah hath given me



many sons, he hath chosen,' &c. I say nothing of Solomon, notwithstanding his wisdom, because he seems to have exceeded due bounds ; although it is not objected to him that he had taken many wives, but that he had married strange women ;\* 1 *Kings* xi. 1. *Nehem.* xiii. 26. His son Rehoboam 'desired many wives,' not in the time of his iniquity, but during the three years in which he is said to have walked in the way of David, 2 *Chron.* xi. 17, 21, 23. Of Joash mention has already been made ; who was induced to take two wives, not by licentious passion, or the wanton desires incident to uncontrolled power, but by the sanction and advice of a most wise and holy man, Jehoiada the priest. Who can believe, either that so many men of the highest character should have sinned through ignorance for so many ages ; or that their hearts should have been so hardened ; or that God should have tolerated such conduct in his people ? Let therefore the rule received among theologians have the same weight here as in other cases : " The practice of the saints is the best interpretation of the commandments."

It is the peculiar province of God to make marriage prosperous and happy. *Prov.* xix. 14. 'a prudent wife is from Jehovah.' xviii. 22. 'whoso findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour of Jehovah.'

\* . . . . . where stood

Her temple on th' offensive mountain, built  
By that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,  
Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell  
To idols foul. *Paradise Lost*, I. 442.

Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart  
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,  
And made him bow to the gods of his wives.

*Paradise Regained*, II. 169.

The consent of parents, if living, should not be wanting.\* *Exod.* xxii. 17. 'if his father utterly refuse to give her unto him—.' *Deut.* vii. 3. 'thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son.' *Jer.* xxix. 6. 'take wives for your sons.' But the mutual consent of the parties themselves is naturally the first and important requisite; for there can be no love or good will, and consequently no marriage, without mutual consent.†

In order that marriage may be valid, the consent must be free from every kind of fraud, especially in respect of chastity. *Deut.* xxii. 20, 21, 23. It will be obvious to every sensible person that maturity of age is requisite.

The degrees of affinity which constitute incest are to be determined by the law of God, *Lev.* xviii. *Deut.* xxvii. and not by ecclesiastical canons or legal decrees. We are moreover to interpret the text in its plain and obvious meaning, without attempting to elicit more from it than it really contains. To be wise beyond this point, savours of superstitious folly, and a spurious preciseness.

It is also necessary that the parties should be of one mind in matters of religion. Under the law this

\* 'The 18th chapter (of Bucer's *Kingdom of Christ*) I only mention as determining a thing not here in question, that marriage without consent of parents ought not to be held good, yet with this qualification fit to be known,' &c. *Prose Works*, II. 81. 'It is generally held by reformed writers against the Papist, that....the father not consenting, his main will without dispute shall dissolve all.....Because the general honour due to parents is great, they hold he may, and perhaps hold not amiss.' *Tetrachordon*. *Prose Works*, II. 136.

† 'There must be a joint consent and good liking on both sides.' *Doctrine*, &c. *Prose Works*, I. 366. 'This brings in the parties' consent; until which be, the marriage hath no true being.' *Tetrachordon*, II. 143.

precept was understood as applying to marriages already contracted, as well as to those in contemplation. *Exod.* xxxiv. 15, 16. *Deut.* vii. 3, 4, compared with *Ezra* x. 11, &c. and *Nehem.* xiii. 23, 30. A similar provision was made under the gospel for preventing the contraction of any marriage where a difference of religious opinion might exist: *1 Cor.* vii. 39. 'she is at liberty to be married to whom she will, only in the Lord.' *2 Cor.* vi. 14. 'be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers.' But if the marriage be already contracted it is not to be dissolved, while any hope remains of doing good to the unbeliever.\* *1 Cor.* vii. 12. For the rest, what kind of issue generally follows such marriages may be seen in the case of the antediluvian world, *Gen.* vi. of Solomon, *1 Kings* xi. 1, &c. of Ahab, *xxi.* 25. of Jehoshaphat, who gave his son Jehoram a wife of the daughters of Ahab, *2 Kings* viii.

The *form*† of marriage consists in the mutual ex-

\* 'His drift, as was heard before, is plain; not to command our stay in marriage with an infidel; that had been a flat renouncing of the religious and moral law; but to inform the Corinthians, that the body of an unbeliever was not defiling, if his desire to live in Christian wedlock showed any likelihood that his heart was opening to the faith; and therefore advises to forbear departure so long till nothing have been neglected to set forward a conversion; this I say he advises—' *Doctrine, &c. Prose Works*, I. 365. See also *Tetrachordon*: 'I cannot see by this golden dependence—not an endless servitude.' II. 123, 124. and pp. 206—218.

† 'What is not therefore among the causes constituting marriage, must not stay in the definition. Those causes are concluded to be matter, and, as the artist calls it, *form* . . . First, therefore, the material cause of matrimony is man and woman; the author and efficient, God and their consent; the internal *form* and soul of this relation is conjugal love arising from a mutual fitness to the final causes of wedlock, help and society in religious, civil, and domestic conversation, which includes as an inferior end the fulfilling of natural desire, and

ercise of benevolence, love, help, and solace between the espoused parties, as the institution itself, or its definition, indicates.

The end of marriage is nearly the same with the form. Its proper fruit is the procreation of children ; but since Adam's fall, the provision of a remedy against incontinency has become in some degree a secondary end. 1 *Cor.* vii. 2. Hence marriage is not a command binding on all, but only on those who are unable to live with chastity out of this state.\* *Matt.* xix. 11. 'all men cannot receive this saying.'

Marriage is honourable in itself, and prohibited to no order of men ; wherefore the Papists act contrary to religion in excluding the ministers of the church from this rite.† *Heb.* xiii. 4. 'marriage is honourable in all.' *Gen.* ii. 24. 1 *Cor.* ix. 5. 'have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles ?' 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife.' v. 4. 'one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection.'

specific increase ; these are the final causes both moving the efficient, and perfecting the *form.*' *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 140. See also p. 143. 'Marriage is a divine institution—common duty than matrimonial.'

\* 'If we speak of a command in the strictest definition, then marriage itself is no more a command than divorce ; but only a free permission to him that cannot contain.' *Doctrine, &c.* Prose Works, II. 13.

† 'Whatever hypocrites austere talk  
Of purity, and place, and innocence,  
Defaming as impure what God declares  
Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.  
Our Maker bids increase ; who bids abstain  
But our Destroyer, foe to God and Man ?

*Paradise Lost*, IV. 744.

Marriage, by its definition, is an union of the most intimate nature ; but not indissoluble or indivisible,\* as some contend, on the ground of its being subjoined, *Matt.* xix. 5. 'they two shall be one flesh.' These words, properly considered, do not imply that marriage is absolutely indissoluble, but only that it ought not to be lightly dissolved. For it is upon the institution itself, and the due observance of all its parts, that what follows respecting the indissolubility of marriage depends, whether the words be considered in the light of a command, or of a natural consequence. Hence it is said, 'for this cause shall a man leave father and mother . . . and they two shall be one flesh ;' that is to say, if, according to the nature of the institution, as laid down in the preceding verses, *Gen.* ii. 18, 20. the wife be an help meet for the husband ; or in other words, if good will, love, help, comfort, fidelity, remain unshaken on both sides,† which, according to universal acknowledgement, is the *essential form* of marriage. But if the essential form

\*This is in direct opposition to the sentiments attributed to Adam in his original innocence.

. . . . . to have thee by my side  
Henceforth an individual solace dear.

*Paradise Lost*, IV. 485.

† The same comment upon the passage in Genesis occurs elsewhere, and is remarked by Newton as a beautiful climax.

For this cause he shall forego  
Father and mother, and to his wife adhere ;  
And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul.

VIII. 497.

And again, Eve, replying to Adam, who had said, 'we are one flesh.'

Adam, from whose dear side I boast me sprung,  
And gladly of our union hear thee speak,  
One heart, one soul in both. IX. 965.

be dissolved, it follows that the marriage itself is virtually dissolved.

Great stress, however, is laid upon an expression in the next verse ; ‘ what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.’ What it is that God has joined together, the institution of marriage itself declares. God has joined only what admits of union, what is suitable, what is good, what is honourable ;\* he has not made provision for unnatural and monstrous associations, pregnant only with dishonour, with misery, with hatred, and with calamity. It is not God who forms such unions, but violence, or rashness, or error, or the influence of some evil genius.† Why then should it be unlawful to deliver ourselves from so

\* ‘Lastly, Christ himself tells who should not be put asunder, namely, those whom God hath joined. A plain solution of this great controversy, if men would but use their eyes ; for when is it that God may be said to join ? . . . only then when the minds are fitly disposed and enabled to maintain a cheerful conversation, to the solace and love of each other, according as God intended and promised in the very first foundation of matrimony ; “ I will make him a help meet for him :” for surely what God intended and promised, that only can be thought to be his joining, and not the contrary.’ *Doctrine, &c.* II. 39. ‘ But here the Christian prudence lies, to consider what God hath joined : shall we say that God hath joined error, fraud, unfitness, wrath, contentions, perpetual loneliness, perpetual discord ; whatever lust, or wine, or witchery, threat or enticement, avarice or ambition hath joined together, faithful and unfaithful, christian with anti-christian, hate with hate, or hate with love, shall we say this is God’s joining ?’ *Tetrachordon, Prose Works, II.* 178.

† ‘It is error or some evil angel which either blindly or maliciously hath drawn together, in two persons ill embarked in wedlock, the sleeping discords and enmities of nature.’ *Doctrine, &c. Prose Works, I.* 370. ‘The rest whom either disproportion or deadness of spirit, or something distasteful and averse in the immutable bent of nature renders conjugal, error may have joined, but God never joined against the meaning of his own ordinance.’ *Ibid.* II. 40. ‘Charity and wisdom disjoins that which not God, but error and disaster joined.’ *Tetrachordon, II.* 203.

pressing an intestine evil ?\* Further, our doctrine does not separate those whom God has joined together in the spirit of his sacred institution, but only those whom God has himself separated by the authority of his equally sacred law ; an authority which ought to have the same force with us now, as with his people of old. As to Christian perfection, the promotion of which is urged by some as an argument for the indissolubility of marriage, that perfection is not to be forced upon us by compulsion and penal laws, but must be produced, if at all, by exhortation and Christian admonition. Then only can man be properly said to dissolve a marriage lawfully contracted, when, adding to the divine ordinance what the ordinance itself does not contain, he separates, under pretence of religion, whomsoever it suits his purpose. For it ought to be remembered that God in his just, and pure, and holy law, has not only permitted divorce on a variety of grounds, but has even ratified it in some cases, and enjoined it in others, under the severest penalties, *Exod.* xxi. 4, 10, 11. *Deut.* xxi. 14. xxiv. 1. *Ezra* x. 3. *Nehem.* xxiii. 23, 30.

But this, it is objected, was 'because of the hardness of their hearts,' *Matt.* xix. 8. I reply, that these words of Christ, though a very appropriate answer to the Pharisees who tempted him, were never meant as a general explanation of the question of divorce.† His intention was, as usual, to repress the

\* Once join'd, the contrary she proves, a thorn  
Intestine, far within defensive arms  
A cleaving mischief. *Samson Agonistes*, 1036.

† 'The occasion which induced our Saviour to speak of divorce, was either to convince the extravagance of the Pharisees in that point, or to give a sharp and vehement answer to a tempting question.' *Doctrine, &c. Prose Works*, II. 2.

arrogance of the Pharisees, and elude their snares ; for his answer was only addressed to those who taught from *Deut.* xxiv. 1. that it was lawful to put away a wife for any cause whatever, provided a bill of divorcement were given. This is evident from the former part of the same chapter, v. 3. 'is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?' not for the sole reason allowed by Moses, namely, if 'some uncleanness were found in her,' which might convert love into hatred ; but because it had become a common practice to give bills of divorce, under the pretence of uncleanness, without just cause ; an abuse which, since the law was unable to restrain it, he thought it advisable to tolerate, notwithstanding the hardness of heart which it implied,\* rather than to prevent the dissolution of unfortunate marriages, considering that the balance of earthly happiness or misery rested principally on this institution.†

\* 'Now that many licentious and hard-hearted men took hold of this law to cloke their bad purposes, is nothing strange to believe, and these were they, not for whom Moses made the law, (God forbid) but whose hardness of heart taking ill advantage by this law he held it better to suffer as by accident, where it could not be detected, rather than good men should lose their just and lawful privilege of remedy ; Christ therefore having to answer these tempting Pharisees, according as his custom was, not meaning to inform their proud ignorance what Moses did in the true intent of the law, which they had ill-cited, suppressing the true cause for which Moses gave it, and extending it to every slight matter, tells them their own, what Moses was forced to suffer by their abuse of his law.' *Doctrine, &c.* Prose Works, II. 21. See also p. 42. 'Moses had granted—contentious cause whatsoever.' Again ; 'This was that hardness of heart, and abuse of a good law, which Moses was content to suffer, rather than good men should not have it at all to use needfully.' *Ibid.* p. 50. 'Why did God permit this to his people the Jews, but that the right and good which came directly thereby, was more in his esteem than the wrong and evil which came by accident?' *Colasterion.* Prose Works, II. 251.

† Quandoquidem in iis tantum vitæ momentum vel beatæ vel miseræ



For, if we examine the several causes of divorce enumerated in the law, we shall find that wherever divorce was permitted, it was not in compliance with the hardness of the human heart, but on grounds of the highest equity and justice. The first passage is *Exod. xxi. 1—4*. ‘these are the judgements which thou shalt set before them: if thou buy an Hebrew servant....in the seventh year he shall go out free for nothing....if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him: if his master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master’s, and he shall go out by himself.’ Nothing could be more just than this law, which, so far from conceding anything to the hardness of their hearts, rather restrained it; inasmuch as, while it provided against the possibility of any Hebrew, at whatever price he might have been purchased, remaining more than seven years in bondage, it at the same time established the claim of the master as prior to that of the husband. Again, *v. 10, 11*. ‘if he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage shall he not diminish: and if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out free without money.’ This law is remarkable for it consummate humanity and equity; for while it does not permit the husband to put away his wife through the mere hardness of his heart, it allows the wife to leave her husband on the most reasonable of all grounds, that of inhumanity and unkindness. Again,

positum esse judicavit; an expression which will be best illustrated by the author himself:

..... each on himself relied,

As only in his arm the moment lay

Of victory.

*Paradise Lost*, VI. 237.

*Deut.* xxi. 13, 14. it was permitted by the right of war, both to take a female captive to wife, and to divorce her afterwards; but it was not conceded to the hardness of their hearts, that she should be subsequently sold, or that the master should derive any profit from the possession of her person as a slave.\*

The third passage is *Deut.* xxiv. 1. 'when a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her, then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.' There is no room here for the charge of hardness of heart, supposing the cause alleged to be a true, and not a fictitious one. For since, as is evident from the institution itself, God gave a wife to man at the beginning to the intent that she should be his help and solace and delight, if, as often happens, she should eventually prove to be rather a source of sorrow, of disgrace, of ruin, of torment, of calamity, why should we think that we are displeasing God by divorcing such a one?† I should attribute hardness of heart rather to him who retained her, than to him who sent her away under such circumstances; and not I alone, but Solomon himself, or rather the Spirit of God itself speaking by

\* 'Lastly, it gives place to the right of war, for a captive woman lawfully married, and afterwards not beloved, might be dismissed, only without ransom; *Deut.* xxi.' *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 156.

† 'Cleave to a wife, but let her be a wife, let her be a meet help, a solace, not a nothing, not an adversary, *not a desertrice*; can any law or command be so unreasonable, as to make men cleave to calamity, to ruin, to perdition?' *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 137.

the mouth of Solomon ;\* *Prov.* xxx. 21, 23. ‘for three things the earth is disquieted, and for four which it cannot bear ; for an odious woman when she is married—.’ On the contrary, *Eccles.* ix. 9. ‘live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he hath given thee ;’ the wife therefore ‘which he hath given thee’ is she ‘whom thou lovest,’ not she whom thou hatest : and thus *Mal.* ii. 16. ‘whoever hateth,’ or, ‘because he hateth, let him dismiss her,’† as all before Junius explain the passage. God therefore appears to have enacted this law by the mouth of Moses, and reiterated it by that of the prophet, with the view, not of giving scope to the hard-heartedness of the husband, but of rescuing the unhappy wife from its influence, wherever the case required it. For there is no hard-heartedness in dismissing honourably and freely her whose own fault it is that she is not loved. That one who is not beloved, who is, on the contrary,

\* ‘This law the Spirit of God by the mouth of Solomon, *Prov.* xxx. 21, 23. testifies to be a good and a necessary law, by granting it that a *hated woman* (for so the Hebrew word signifies rather than *odious*, though it come all to one) that a *hated woman, when she is married, is a thing that the earth cannot bear.*’ *Doctrine, &c.* Prose Works, II. 21.

† ‘If Solomon’s advice be not overfrolic, *live joyfully*, saith he, *with the wife whom thou lovest, all thy days, for that is thy portion.....* Yea, God himself commands us in his law more than once, and by his prophet Malachi, as Calvin and the best translations read, that *he who hates, let him divorce*, that is, he who cannot love.’ *Doctrine, &c.* Prose Works, I. 358. ‘Although this place also hath been tampered with, as if it were to be thus rendered—*The Lord God saith, that he hateth putting away.* But this new interpretation rests only in the authority of Junius; for neither Calvin, nor Vatablus himself, nor any other known divine so interpreted before,’ &c. *Tetrachordon* II. 146. *Sibi odio esse dimissionem ait Jehova Deus Israelis.* Junius. *Si odio habueris, dimitte, ait Dominus Deus Israelis.* Lat. Vulg. It appears from Poole’s Synopsis that the version of Piscator is the only one which agrees with Junius.

deservedly neglected, and an object of dislike and hatred ; that a wife thus situated should be retained, in pursuance of a most vexatious law, under a yoke of the heaviest slavery (for such is marriage without love) to one who entertains for her neither attachment nor friendship, would indeed be a hardship more cruel than any divorce whatever.\* God therefore gave laws of divorce, in their proper use most equitable and humane ; he even extended the benefit of them to those whom he knew would abuse them through the hardness of their hearts, thinking it better to bear with the obduracy of the wicked, than to refrain from alleviating the misery of the righteous, or suffer the institution itself to be subverted, which, from a divine blessing, was in danger of becoming the bitterest of all calamities.

The two next passages, *Ezra* x. 3. and *Nehem.* xiii. 23, 30. do not permit divorce on account of the people's hardness of heart, but positively command it for the most sacred religious reasons. On what authority did these prophets found their precept ? They were not the promulgators of a new law ; the law of Moses alone could be their warrant.† But the

\* 'To retain still, and not be able to love, is to heap up more injury.' *Doctrine, &c. of Divorce*. Prose Works, I. 355. And again—'not to be beloved, and yet retained, is the greatest injury to a gentle spirit.' *Ibid.* 'Not he who after sober and cool experience, and long debate within himself, puts away whom, though he cannot love or suffer as a wife with that sincere affection that marriage requires, yet loves at least with that civility and goodness, as not to keep her under a neglected and unwelcome residence, when nothing can be hearty, and not being, it must needs be both unjoyous and injurious to any perceiving person so detained, and more injurious than to be freely and upon good terms dismissed.' *Tetrachordon*. II. 196.

† 'This command thus gospellized to us, hath the same force with that whereon *Ezra* grounded the pious necessity of divorcing. Neither had

law of Moses nowhere commands the dissolution of marriages of this kind ; it only forbids the contracting of such : *Exod.* xxxiv. 15, 16. *Deut.* vii. 3, 4. whence they argued, that the marriage which ought never to have been contracted, ought, if contracted, to be dissolved. So groundless is the vulgar maxim, that what ought not to have been done, is valid when done.\*

✓ Marriage therefore gives place to religion ; it gives place, as has been seen, to the right of a master ;† and the right of a husband, as appears from the passages of Scripture above quoted, as well as from the whole tenor of the civil law, and the universal custom of nations, is nearly the same as that of the master. It gives way, finally, to irresistible antipathies, and to that natural aversion with which we turn from whatever is unclean ; but it is nowhere represented as giving way to hardness of heart, if this latter be really alleged as the sole or principal reason for enacting the law. This appears still more evidently from *Deut.* xxii. 19. ‘because he hath brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel, she shall be his wife ; he may not put her away all his days :’ and v. 29.

he other commission for what he did, than such a general command in Deuteronomy as this, nay not so direct, for he is bid there not to marry, but not bid to divorce,’ &c. *Doctrine, &c.* Prose Works, I. 362.

\* “But,” saith the lawyer, “that which ought not to have been done, once done, avails.” I answer, this is but a crotchet of the law, but that brought against it is plain Scripture.’ *Doctrine, &c.* Prose Works, I. 365.

† ‘The law of marriage gives place to the power of parents ; for we hold that consent of parents not had may break the wedlock, though else accomplished. It gives place to masterly power, for the master might take away from a Hebrew servant the wife which he gave him, *Exod.* xxi.’ *Tetrachordon.* Prose Works, II. 156.

‘she shall be his wife, because he hath humbled her; he may not put her away all his days.’ Now if the law of Moses did not give way to his hardness of heart who was desirous of putting away the virgin whom he had humbled, or to his who was willing to put away the wife against whom he had brought up an evil report, why should we imagine that it would give way to his alone who was averse from uncleanness, supposing that such aversion could properly be included under the definition of hardness of heart? Christ therefore reproves the hardness of heart of those who abused this law, that is, of the Pharisees and others, when he says, ‘on account of the hardness of your hearts he permitted you to put away your wives;’ but he does not abrogate the law itself, or the legitimate use of it; for he says that Moses permitted it on account of the hardness of their hearts, not that he permitted it wrongfully or improperly. In this sense almost the whole of the civil law might be said to have been given on account of the hardness of their hearts; whence Paul reproves the brethren, 1 *Cor.* vi. 6. because they had recourse to it, though no one argues from hence that the civil law is, or ought to be abrogated. How much less then can any one who understands the spirit of the Gospel believe, that this latter denies what the law did not scruple to concede, either as a matter of right or of indulgence, to the infirmity of human nature? \*

\* ‘O perverseness! that the law should be made more provident of peace-making than the gospel; that the gospel should be put to beg a most necessary help of mercy from the law, but must not have it!’ *Doctrine*, &c. *Prose Works*, I. 358. See also book II. chap. vii. ‘But if those indulgences, &c.—work of our redemption.’ II. 19. 20.

The clause in the eighth verse, 'from the beginning it was not so,' means nothing more than what was more clearly intimated above in the fourth verse, 'he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female;' namely, that marriage in its original institution was not capable of being dissolved even by death, for sin and death were not then in existence. If however the purpose of the institution should be violated by the offence of either, it was obvious that death, the consequence of that offence, must in the course of things dissolve the bond; and reason taught them that separation must frequently take place even before that period. No age or record, since the fall of man, gives a tradition of any other 'beginning' in which 'it was not so.'\* In the earliest ages of our faith, Abraham himself, the father of the faithful, put away his contentious and turbulent wife Hagar by the command of God, *Gen.* xxi. 10, 12, 14.

Christ himself, v. 9. permitted a divorce for the cause of fornication; which could not have been, if those whom God had once joined in the bands of matrimony were never afterwards to be disunited. According to the idiom of the eastern languages, however, the word fornication signifies, not adultery

\* 'From the beginning, that is to say, by the institution in Paradise, it was not intended that matrimony should dissolve for every trivial cause as you Pharisees accustom. But that it was not thus suffered from the beginning ever since the race of men corrupted, and laws were made, he who will affirm must have found out other antiquities than are yet known. Besides, we must consider now, what can be so as from the beginning, not only what should be so. In the beginning, had men continued perfect, it had been just that all things should have remained, as they began to Adam and Eve,' &c. *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 192.

only,\* but either what is called *any unclean thing*, or a defect in some particular which might justly be required in a wife, *Deut.* xxiv, 1. (as Selden was the first to prove by numerous Rabbinical testimonies in his *Uxor Hebræa* †) or it signifies whatever is found to be irreconcilably at variance with love, or fidelity, or help, or society, that is, with the objects of the original institution; as Selden proves, and as I have myself shown in another treatise‡ from several texts

\* ‘For the language of Scripture signifies by fornication . . . not only the trespass of body . . . but signifies also any notable disobedience, or intractable carriage of the wife to the husband.’ *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 198.

† See Book III. Chap. xxii. and xxvii. Selden is quoted again with approbation in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. ‘Let him hasten to be acquainted with that noble volume written by our learned Selden, “*Of the Law of Nature and of Nations*,” a work more useful and more worthy to be perused by whosoever studies to be a great man in wisdom, equity, and justice,’ &c. Prose Works, ii. 59. He calls him also in the *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*, ‘the chief of learned men reported in this land.’ I. 298. Again, in his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, referring to the treatise here quoted, he says, ‘quid item de exoepta solum fornicatione sentiendum sit, et meam aliorumque sententiam exprompsi, et clarissimus vir Seldenus noster, in *Uxore Hebræa* plus minus biennio post edita, uberius demonstravit.’ V. 234.

‡ This is the only direct reference to any of Milton’s printed works which this treatise contains. The allusion is to a passage in *Tetrachordon*, where the author explains the text, *saving for the cause of fornication*. Prose Works II. 197—201. It has been generally supposed that Milton’s opinions on the subject of divorce were influenced by the well-known circumstances connected with his first marriage, and Warton says that he published *Tetrachordon* in consequence. Some probability seems to have been given to this conjecture by the passage quoted in the 2d note on page 327. But though Milton’s attention may have been first directed to this subject by his own domestic unhappiness, it is evident from the work now published, that his sentiments respecting divorce were deliberately conceived, and that the treatises which he printed during his life time were not merely intended to serve a temporary purpose in which he was personally interested.



of Scripture. For it would have been absurd, when the Pharisees asked, whether it was allowable to put away a wife for every cause, to answer, that it was not lawful except in case of adultery, when it was well known already to be not only lawful but necessary to put away an adulteress, and that not by divorce, but by death. Fornication, therefore, must be here understood in a much wider sense than that of simple adultery, as is clear from many passages of Scripture, and particularly from *Judges* xix. 2. 'his concubine played the whore against him;' not by committing adultery, for in that case she would not have dared to flee to her father's house, but by refractory behaviour towards her husband.\* Nor could Paul have allowed divorce in consequence of the departure of an unbeliever,† unless this also were a species of fornication. It does not affect the question, that the case alluded to is that of a heathen; since whoever deserts her family 'is worse than an infidel,' 1 *Tim.* v. 8. Nor could anything be more natural, or more agreeable to the original institution, than that the bond which had been formed by love, and the hope of mutual assistance through life, and honourable

\* 'Grotius shows also, that fornication is taken in Scripture for such a continual headstrong behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the husband, and proves it out of *Judg.* xix. 2. where the Levite's wife is said to have *played the whore against him*; which Josephus and the Septuagint, with the Chaldean, interpret only of stubbornness and rebellion against her husband. . . . Had it been whoredom, she would have chosen any other place to run to than to her father's house, it being so infamous for a Hebrew woman to play the harlot, and so opprobrious to the parents. Fornication then in this place of the Judges is understood for stubborn disobedience against the husband, and not for adultery.' *Doctrine, &c.* II. 46.

† See 1 *Cor.* vii. 15.

motives, should be dissolved by hatred and implacable enmity, and disgraceful conduct on either side. For man, therefore, in his state of innocence in Paradise, previously to the entrance of sin into the world, God ordained that marriage should be indissoluble; after the fall, in compliance with the alteration of circumstances, and to prevent the innocent from being exposed to perpetual injury from the wicked, he permitted its dissolution; and this permission forms part of the law of nature and of Moses, and is not disallowed by Christ. Thus every covenant, when originally concluded, is intended to be perpetual and indissoluble, however soon it may be broken by the bad faith of one of the parties; nor has any good reason yet been given why marriage should differ in this respect from all other compacts; especially since the apostle has pronounced that ‘a brother or a sister is not under bondage,’ not merely in a case of desertion, but *in such cases*, that is, in all cases that produce an unworthy bondage.\* 1 Cor. vii. 15. ‘a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases, but God hath called us in peace,’ or ‘to peace:’† he

\* ‘St. Paul leaves us here the solution not of this case only, which little concerns us, but of such like cases which may occur to us.’ *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 216.

† ‘Having declared his opinion in one case, he leaves a further liberty for Christian prudence to determine in cases of like importance, using words so plain as not to be shifted off, that *a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases*, adding also that *God hath called us to peace* in marriage. Now if it be plain that a Christian may be brought into unworthy bondage, and his religious peace not only interrupted now and then, but perpetually and finally hindered in wedlock, by misyoking with a diversity of nature as well as of religion, the reasons of St. Paul cannot be made special to that one case of infidelity, but are of equal moment to a divorce wherever Christian liberty and peace are without fault equally obstructed.’ *Doctrine*, &c. II. 48.

has not therefore called us to the end that we should be harassed with constant discord and vexations ; for the object of our call is peace and liberty, not marriage, much less perpetual discord and the slavish bondage of an unhappy union, which the apostle declares to be above all things unworthy of a free man and a Christian.\* It is not to be supposed that Christ would expunge from the Mosaic law any enactment which could afford scope for the exercise of mercy towards the wretched and afflicted, or that his declaration on the present occasion was intended to have the force of a judicial decree, ordaining new and severer regulations on the subject ; but that, having exposed the abuses of the law, he proceeded after his usual manner to lay down a more perfect rule of conduct, disclaiming on this, as on all other occasions, the office of a judge, and inculcating truth by simple admonition, not by compulsory decrees. It is therefore a most flagrant error to convert a gospel precept into a civil statute, and enforce it by legal penalties.

It may perhaps be asked, if the disciples understood Christ as promulgating nothing new or more severe than the existing law on the subject of divorce, how it happened that they were so little satisfied with his explanation, as to say, v. 10. ‘if the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry?’ I answer, that it is no wonder if the disciples, who had imbibed the doctrines of their time, thought and felt like the Pharisees with regard to divorce ; so that the

\* ‘St. Paul here warrants us to seek peace rather than to remain in bondage. If God hath called us to peace, why should not we follow him? why should we miserably stay in perpetual discord under a servitude not required?’ *Tetrachordon*, II. 215.

declaration of our Lord, that it was not lawful to put away a wife for every cause, only having given her a writing of divorcement, must have appeared to them a new and hard saying.\*

The whole argument may be summed up in brief as follows. It is universally admitted that marriage may lawfully be dissolved, if the prime end and form of the institution be violated; which is generally alleged as the reason why Christ allowed divorce in cases of adultery only. But the prime end and form of marriage, as almost all acknowledge, is not the nuptial bed, but conjugal love and mutual assistance through life; for that must be regarded as the prime end and form of a rite, which is alone specified in the original institution.† Mention is there made of the pleasures of society, which are incompatible with

\*‘But if it be thought that the disciples, offended at the rigour of Christ’s answer, could yet obtain no mitigation of the former sentence pronounced to the Pharisees, it may be fully answered, that our Saviour continues the same reply to his disciples, as men leavened with the same customary license which the Pharisees maintained, and displeased at the removing of a traditional abuse, whereto they had so long not unwillingly been used.’ *Doctrine, &c. Prose Works*, II. 25. ‘Some may think, if this our Saviour’s sentence be so fair, as not commanding aught that patience or nature cannot brook, why then did the disciples murmur and say, *It is not good to marry*? I answer, that the disciples had been longer bred up under the Pharisaean doctrine, than under that of Christ, and so no marvel though they yet retained the infection of loving old licentious customs; no marvel though they thought it hard they might not for any offence, that thoroughly angered them, divorce a wife, as well as put away a servant, since it was but giving her a bill, as they were taught.’ *Tetrachordon*, II. 204.

†‘For although God in the first ordaining of marriage taught us to what end he did it, in words expressly implying the apt and chearful conversation of man with woman, to comfort and refresh him against the evil of solitary life, not mentioning the purpose of generation till afterwards, as being but a secondary end in dignity, though not in necessity,’ &c. *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce. Prose Works*, I. 343.

the isolation consequent upon aversion, and of conjugal assistance, which is afforded by love alone ; not of the nuptial bed, or of the production of offspring, which may take place even without love : from whence it is evident that conjugal affection is of more importance and higher excellence than the nuptial bed itself, and more worthy to be considered as the prime end and form of the institution. No one can surely be so base and sensual as to deny this. The very cause which renders the pollution of the marriage bed so heavy a calamity, is, that in its consequences it interrupts peace and affection ; much more therefore must the perpetual interruption of peace and affection by mutual differences and unkindness be a sufficient reason for granting the liberty of divorce. And that it is such, Christ himself declares in the above passage ; for it is certain, and has been proved already, that fornication signifies, not so much adultery, as the constant enmity, faithlessness, and disobedience of the wife, arising from the manifest and palpable alienation of the mind, rather than of the body.\* Not to mention, that the common, though false interpretation, by which adultery is made the sole ground of divorce, so far from vindicating the law, does in effect abrogate it ; for it was ordained by the law of Moses, not that an adulteress should be put away, but that she should be brought to judgment, and punished with death.†

\* 'Thus much that the word fornication is to be understood as the language of Christ understands it, for a constant alienation and disaffection of mind, or for the continual practice of disobedience and criminality from the duties of love and peace.' *Tetrachordon*, II. 200.

† 'And also that there was no need our Saviour should grant divorce for adultery. . . being death by law, and law then in force.' *Ibid.* II. 199.

## CHAPTER XI.

### OF THE FALL OF OUR FIRST PARENTS, AND OF SIN.

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**T**HE Providence of God, as regards the fall of man, is observable in the sin of man, and the misery consequent upon it, as well as in his restoration.

*Sin*, as defined by the apostle, is *ἀνομία*, or 'the transgression of the law,' 1 *John* iii. 4.

By the law is here meant, in the first place, that rule of conscience which is innate, and engraven upon the mind of man;\* secondly, the special command which proceeded out of the mouth of God, (for the law written by Moses was long subsequent) *Gen.* ii. 17. 'thou shalt not eat of it.' Hence it is said, *Rom.* ii. 12. 'as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law.'

Sin is distinguished into *that which is common to all men*, and *the personal sin of each individual*.

*The sin which is common to all men is that which our first parents, and in them all their posterity*

\* 'That which is thus moral, besides what we fetch from those unwritten laws and ideas which nature hath engraven in us'— *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.* Prose Works, I. 90.

*committed,\* when, casting off their obedience to God, they tasted the fruit of the forbidden tree.*

*Our first parents.* *Gen.* iii. 6. 'the woman took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat.' Hence *1 Tim.* ii. 14. 'Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression.' This sin originated, first, in the instigation of the devil, as is clear from the narrative in *Gen* iii. and from *1 John* iii. 8. 'he that committeth sin is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning.' Secondly, in the liability to fall with which man was created,† where- by he, as the devil had done before him, 'abode not in the truth,' *John* viii. 44. nor 'kept his first estate, but left his own habitation,' *Jude* 6. If the circum- stances of this crime are duly considered, it will be acknowledged to have been a most heinous offence, and a transgression of the whole law. For what sin can be named, which was not included in this one act? It comprehended at once distrust in the divine veraci- ty, and a proportionate credulity in the assurances of

\* His crime makes guilty all his sons.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 290.

..... in me all  
Posterity stands curs'd; fair patrimony  
That I must leave you, sons. *XI.* 317.

† ..... should Man

.....  
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd  
With his own folly? *III.* 150.

Left to his own free will, his will though free,  
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware  
He swerve not, too secure. *V.* 236.  
God made thee perfect, not immutable. *Ibid.* 324.  
Firm we subsist, yet possible to swerve. *IX.* 359.

Satan ; unbelief ; ingratitude ; disobedience ; gluttony ;\* in the man excessive uxoriousness, in the woman a want of proper regard for her husband, in both an insensibility to the welfare of their offspring, and that offspring the whole human race ; parricide, theft, invasion of the rights of others, sacrilege, deceit, presumption in aspiring to divine attributes, fraud in the means employed to attain the object, pride, and arrogance.† Whence it is said, *Eccles. vii. 29.* ‘ God hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions.’ *James ii. 10.* ‘ whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.’

*And in them all their posterity ;* for even such as were not then born are judged and condemned in them, *Gen. iii. 16,* &c. so that without doubt they also sinned in them, and at the same time with them.

\* . . . . . ungovern'd appetite . . .

. . . . . a brutish vice,

Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve. XI. 517.

‘ If our first parents, Adam and Eve, (*Gen. iii. 6.*) had not obeyed their greedy appetite in eating the forbidden fruit, neither had they lost the fruition of God's benefits which they then enjoyed in Paradise, neither had they brought so many mischiefs on themselves, and on all their posterity. But when they passed the bounds that God had appointed them, as unworthy of God's benefits, they are expelled and driven out of Paradise ; they may no longer eat the fruits of that garden, which by excess they had so much abused.’ *Homily Against Gluttony.*

† . . . . . they not obeying

Incurred (what could they less ?) the penalty,

And, manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.

*Paradise Lost, X. 14.*

Newton has the following note on these lines. ‘ The divines, especially those of Milton's communion, reckon up several sins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit ; namely, pride, uxoriousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience, &c. so that for such complicated guilt, he deserved to fall from his happy state in Paradise.’



*Rom.* v. 12. 'by one man sin entered into the world.' v. 15. 'through the offence of one many be dead;' and v. 16. 'the judgement was by one to condemnation;' v. 17. 'by one man's offence death reigned by one;' and v. 18. 'by the offence of one man judgement came upon all men to condemnation;' and v. 19. 'by one man's disobedience many were made sinners.' *1 Cor.* xv. 22. 'in Adam all die;' undoubtedly therefore all sinned in Adam. For Adam being the common parent and head of all, it follows that, as in the covenant, that is, in receiving the commandment of God, so also in the defection from God, he either stood or fell for the whole human race; in the same manner as 'Levi also payed tithes in Abraham, whilst he was yet in the loins of his father,' *Heb.* vii. 9, 10. 'he hath made of one blood all nations of men,' *Acts* xvii. 26. For if all did not sin in Adam, why has the condition of all become worse since his fall? Some of the modern commentators reply, that the deterioration was not moral, but physical.\* To which I answer, that it was as unjust to deprive the innocent of their physical, as of their moral perfection; espe-

\* 'These do also think that the threatening made to Adam, that upon his eating the forbidden fruit he should surely die, is to be taken literally, and is to be carried no further than to a natural death . . . All this these divines apprehend is conceivable, and no more; therefore they put original sin in this only, for which they pretend they have all the Fathers with them before St. Austin, and particularly St. Chrysostom and Theodoret, from whom all the later Greeks have done little more than copied out their words.' Burnet *On the Ninth Article*. The view taken of original sin by Jeremy Taylor seems not to have been essentially different from the opinion contained in the preceding quotation. Bp. Heber points out in a masterly and candid manner the inaccuracy of reasoning which led to his partial heterodoxy on this subject. *Life prefixed to Taylor's Works*, ccxx—ccxxxi.

cially since the former has so much influence on the latter, that is, on the practical conduct of mankind.

It is, however, a principle uniformly acted upon in the divine proceedings, and recognized by all nations and under all religions from the earliest period, that the penalty incurred by the violation of things sacred (and such was the tree of knowledge of good and evil) attaches not only to the criminal himself, but to the whole of his posterity, who thus become accursed and obnoxious to punishment. It was thus in the deluge, and in the destruction of Sodom; in the swallowing up of Korah, *Numb.* xvi. 27—32. and in the punishment of Achan, *Josh.* vii. 24, 25. In the burning of Jericho the children suffered for the sins of their fathers, and even the cattle were devoted to the same slaughter with their masters, *Josh.* vi. 21. A like fate befel the posterity of Eli the priest, 1. *Sam.* ii. 31, 33, 36. and the house of Saul, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1, &c. because their father had slain the Gibeonites.

God declares this to be the method of his justice, *Exod.* xx. 5. ‘visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.’ *Numb.* xiv. 33. ‘your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms;’ they themselves, however, not being guiltless. He himself explains the principle by which this justice is regulated, *Lev.* xxvi. 39. ‘they that are left of you shall pine away in their iniquity. . . . . and also in the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away with them.’ 2 *Kings* xvii. 14. ‘they hardened their necks, like to the necks of their fathers.’ *Ezek.* xviii. 4. ‘behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is

mine ; the soul that sinneth it shall die.' The difficulty is solved with respect to infants, by the consideration that all souls belong to God ; that these, though guiltless of actual sin, were the offspring of sinful parents, and that God foresaw that, if suffered to live, they would grow up similar to their parents. With respect to others, it is obviated by the consideration, that no one perishes, except he himself sin. Thus Agag and his people were smitten for the crime of their fathers, four hundred years after their ancestors had laid wait for Israel in the way, when he came out of Egypt, 1 *Sam.* xv. 2, 3. but at the same time they were themselves justly obnoxious to punishment for sins of their own, v. 33. So too Hoshea king of Israel was better than the kings that were before him, but having fallen into the idolatry of the Gentiles, he was punished at once for his own sins and for those of his fathers, by the loss of his kingdom, 2 *Kings* xvii. 3—4. Thus too the sins of Manasseh were visited on his children, but they themselves were far from being innocent, xxiii. 26. compared with *Jer.* xxv. 3, 4. 'because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him withal. From the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah, even unto this day.....the word of the Lord hath come unto me ; and I have spoken unto you, rising early and speaking ; but ye have not hearkened.' 2 *Kings* xxiv. 3. 'for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did.' On the same principle the good king Josiah, and those who resembled him, were for the most part exempt from punishment ; but the case was otherwise with the Pharisees, *Matt.* xxiii. 34, 35. 'some of them ye shall kill, &c. that

upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias.'

Hence the penitent are enjoined to confess not only their own sins, but those of their fathers. *Lev.* xxvi. 40. 'if they shall confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their fathers.' *Nehem.* ix. 2. 'they confess their sins and the iniquities of their fathers.' Many similar texts occur.

Thus also entire families become obnoxious to punishment for the guilt of their head. *Gen.* xii. 17. 'Jehovah plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai.' xx. 7. 'if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou and all that are thine.'

Subjects also are afflicted for the sins of their rulers; thus the whole of Egypt was smitten for the offence of Pharaoh. It is remarkable that David, even while remonstrating against the hardship of punishing the people for the sins of their king, yet thought it not unjust that the sons should suffer for and with their father. *2 Sam.* xxiv. 17. 'lo, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly, but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me, and against my father's house.'

Sometimes a whole nation is punished for the iniquity of one of the people. *Josh.* vii. and the trespass of one is imputed to all, v. 1, 11.

We may add, that even just men have not thought it inconsistent with equity to visit offences against themselves, not only on the offender, but on his posterity. Thus Noah scrupled not to pronounce the condem-

nation of Canaan for the wickedness of his father Ham, *Gen*, ix. 25.\*

This principle of divine justice in the infliction of piacular punishments was not unknown to other nations, nor was it ever by them accounted unjust. So Thucydides, Book I. Sect. 126. ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτῆριοι τῆς Θεοῦ ἐκείνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. And Virgil, *Æn*. I. 39.

..... Pallasne exurere classem

Argivum, atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto

Unius ob noxam?

The same might be easily shown by a multitude of other Pagan testimonies and examples.

Again, the possessions and right of citizenship of one convicted of high treason, a crime between man and man, are forfeited, not only as respects himself but all his posterity; and legal authorities decide similarly in other analogous cases. We all know what are the recognized rights of war, not only with regard to the immediate parties themselves, but all who fall into the power of the enemy, such as women and children, and those who have contributed nothing to the progress of the war either in will or deed.

*The personal sin of each individual, is that which each in his own person has committed, independently of the sin which is common to all. Here likewise all men are guilty. Job ix. 20. 'if I justify*

\* .... Justice and some fatal curse annex'd

Deprives them of their outward liberty,

Their inward lost: witness th' irrev'rent son

Of him who built the ark; who, for the shame

Done to his father, heard this heavy curse,

Servant of servants, on his vicious race. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 99.

myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me.' x. 15.  
 'if I be righteous, yet will I not lift up my head.'  
*Psal.* cxliii. 2. 'in thy sight shall no man living be  
 justified.' *Prov.* xx. 9. 'who can say, I am pure  
 from my sin?' *Eccles.* vii. 20. 'there is not a just  
 man upon earth that doeth good, and sinneth not.'  
*Rom.* iii. 23. 'all have sinned.'

Both kinds of sin, as well that which is common  
 to all, as that which is personal to each individual,  
 consist of these two parts, whether we term them  
 gradations, or divisions, or modes of sin, or whether  
 we consider them in the light of cause and effect;  
 namely, evil concupiscence, or the desire of sinning,  
 and the act of sin itself. *James* i. 14, 15. 'every man  
 is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust,  
 and enticed: then when lust hath conceived, it bring-  
 eth forth sin.' This is not ill expressed by the poet:

Mars videt hanc, visamque cupit, potiturque cupita.

Ovid. *Fast.* III. 21.

Evil concupiscence is that of which our original  
 parents were first guilty, and which they transmitted  
 to their posterity, as sharers in the primary trans-  
 gression, in the shape of an innate propensity to sin.\*

This is called in Scripture 'the old man,' and 'the  
 body of sin,' *Rom.* vi. 6. *Eph.* iv. 22. *Col.* iii. 9. or  
 simply 'sin,' *Rom.* vii. 8. 'sin taking occasion by  
 the commandment.' v. 17. 20. 'indwelling sin.' v. 21.  
 'evil present with us.' v. 22. 'the law in our mem-

\* Quasi habitum quendam sive fomitem deinceps peccati ingenerarunt.  
 'The particulars commonly reckoned, are, that from Adam we derive an  
 original ignorance, a proneness to sin, a natural malice, a "fomes," or  
 nest of sin imprinted and placed in our souls,' &c. *Taylor's Works*,  
 IX. 10.

bers' v. 24. 'the body of death. viii. 2. 'the law of sin and death.'

The first who employed the phrase *original sin* is said to have been Augustine in his writings against Pelagius;\* probably because in the *origin*, that is, in the generation of man, it was handed down from our first parents to their posterity. If however this were his meaning, the term is too limited; for that evil concupiscence, that law of sin, was not only naturally bred in us, but dwelt also in Adam after the fall, in whom it could not properly be called original.

This general depravity of the human mind and its propensity to sin is described *Gen.* vi. 5. 'God saw that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.' viii. 21. 'the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.' *Jer.* xvii. 9. 'the heart is deceitful above all things.' *Matt.* xv. 19. 'out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders,' &c. *Rom.* vii. 14. 'the law is spiritual, but I am carnal.' *Rom.* viii. 7. 'the carnal mind is enmity against God.' *Gal.* v. 17. 'the flesh lusteth against the spirit.' *Eph.* iv. 22. 'the old man which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts.'

This depravity was engendered in us by our first parents. *Job* xiv. 4. 'who can bring a clean thing

\* This is incorrect. Augustine wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, but the term had been before employed by Cyprian, in the middle of the third. 'Fuerant et ante Christum viri insignes, prophetae et sacerdotes: sed in peccatis concepti et nati, nec originali nec personali caruere delicto.' *De Jejunio et Tentatione*. Milton only once admits the expression into his poem:

Wept at completing of the mortal sin

Original. *Paradise Lost*, IX. 1003.

See Taylor's *Doctrine and Practice of Repentance*, Chap. iv. Sect. 1. Works, IX. 1.

out of an unclean ?' xv. 14. 'what is man that he should be clean ? and he which is born of a woman, that he should be righteous ?' *Psal.* li. 5. 'behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.' lviii. 3. 'they go astray as soon as they be born.' *Isai.* xlvi. 8. 'thou wast called a transgressor from the womb.' *John* iii. 6. 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh.' *Eph.* ii. 3. 'we were by nature the children of wrath, even as others,' those even who are born of regenerate parents ; for faith, though it takes away the personal imputation of guilt, does not altogether remove indwelling sin. It is not therefore man as a regenerate being, but man in his animal capacity, that propagates his kind ; as seed, though cleared from the chaff and stubble, produces not only the ear or grain, but also the stalk and husk. Christ alone was exempt from this contagion, being born by supernatural generation, although descended from Adam. *Heb.* vii. 26. 'holy, undefiled.'

Some contend that this original sin is specially guiltiness ; but guiltiness is not properly sin, but the imputation of sin, which is also called 'the judgement of God,' (*Rom.* i. 32. 'who knowing the judgement of God') whereby sinners are accounted 'worthy of death,' and become *ὑπόδιχοι*, that is, 'guilty before God,' *Rom.* iii. 19. and 'are under sin,' v. 9. Thus our first parents, in whom, as above observed, there could have been no original sin, were involved in guiltiness immediately upon their fall ; and their posterity, before original sin was yet engendered, were involved in the same guiltiness in Adam ; lastly, guiltiness is taken away in those who are regenerate, while original sin remains.



Others define original sin to be the loss of original righteousness, and the corruption of the whole mind.\* But before this loss can be attributed to us, it must be attributed to our first parents, to whom, as was argued before, original sin could not attach; in them therefore it was what is called actual sin, which these divines themselves distinguish from original sin. At any rate it was the consequence of sin, rather than sin itself; or if it were sin, it was a sin of ignorance; for they expected nothing less than that they should lose any good by eating the fruit, or suffer harm in any way whatever. I shall therefore consider this loss of original righteousness in the following chapter, under the head of punishment, rather than in the present, which relates to sin.

The second thing in sin, after evil concupiscence, is the crime itself, or the act of sinning, which is commonly called Actual Sin. This may be incurred, not only by actions commonly so called, but also by words and thoughts, and even by the omission of good actions.

It is called Actual Sin, not that sin is properly an action, for in reality it implies defect; but because it commonly consists in some act. For every act is in itself good; it is only its irregularity, or deviation from the line of right, which, properly speaking, is evil. Wherefore the act itself is not the matter of which sin consists, but only the *ὑποκείμενον* or *subject* in which it is committed.

\* 'Peccatum originis varie admodum definitur a theologis, ita ut quid per ipsum intelligent vix satis capi possit. Scholastici dicunt vulgo, esse carentiam justitiæ originalis debitæ inesse. Sed Protestantes non acquiescunt in hac definitione, nec etiam inter se bene consentiunt.' Curcell. *Dissertatio secunda de Peccato Originis*, 5.

By words. *Matt.* xii. 36. 'every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof.' xv. 11. 'that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.'

By thoughts. *Exod.* xx. 17, 'thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house—.' *Psal.* vii. 14. 'behold, he travaileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood.' *Prov.* xxiv. 8. 'he that deviseth to do evil—.' *Jer.* xvii. 9. 'the heart is deceitful above all things,' &c. *Matt.* v. 28. 'he hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.' xv. 19. 'out of the heart proceed evil thoughts.' 1 *John* iii. 15. 'whoso hateth his brother is a murderer.'

By omission. *Matt.* xii. 30. 'he that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad.' See also *Luke* xi. 23. and vi. 9. where to omit saving the life of a man is accounted the same as to destroy it. *Matt.* xxv. 42. 'I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat.' *James* iv. 17. 'to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin.'

All sins however are not, as the Stoics maintained, of equal magnitude.\* *Ezek.* v. 6. 'she hath changed my

\* 'Sins are not equal, but greater or less in their principle, as well as in their event. It was one of the errors of Jovinian, which he learned from the school of the Stoics, that all sins are alike grievous:

. . . Cum dicas esse pares res  
Furta latrociniiis, et magnis parva mineris  
Falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum  
Permittant homines.

Hor. Serm. I. 3. 121.' Taylor's Works, VIII. 337.

See also Cicero's third paradox, *ἵτις ἴσα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, καὶ τὰ κατεσθμένα*, and his oration pro L. Murena: 'omnia peccata esse paria; omne delictum, scelus esse nefarium; nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum qui patrem suffocaverit.'

judgements into wickedness more than the nations.' viii. 15. 'thou shalt see greater abominations than these.' *John* xix. 11. 'he that delivereth me unto thee hath the greater sin.' This inequality arises from the various circumstances of person, place, time, and the like. *Isai.* xxvi. 10. 'in the land of uprightness, will he deal unjustly.'

The distinction between mortal and venial sin will come more properly under consideration in another place. In the mean time it is certain, that even the least sin renders the sinner obnoxious to condemnation. *Luke* xvi. 10. 'he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much.'

## CHAPTER XII.

### OF THE PUNISHMENT OF SIN.

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**T**HUS far of Sin. After sin came death, as the calamity or punishment consequent upon it. *Gen.* ii. 17. 'in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.' *Rom.* v. 12. 'death entered by sin.' vi. 23. 'the wages of sin is death.' vii. 5. 'the motions of sins did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death.'

Under the head of death, in Scripture, all evils whatever,\* together with every thing which in its consequences tends to death, must be understood as comprehended; for mere bodily death, as it is called,√ did not follow the sin of Adam on the self-same day, as God had threatened.†

\* . . . . . the fruit  
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste  
Brought death into the world, *and all our woe.*  
, *Paradise Lost*, I. 1.

† The divine denunciation is interpreted in the same sense in *Paradise Lost*:

. . . . . my sole command  
Transgress'd, inevitably thou shalt die,  
*From that day mortal*; and this happy state  
Shalt lose, expell'd from hence into a world  
Of woe and sorrow. *VIII* 329.

Hence divines, not inappropriately, reckon up four several degrees of death. The first, as before said, comprehends *all those evils which lead to death, and which it is agreed came into the world immediately upon the fall of man*, the most important of which I proceed to enumerate. In the first place, guiltiness; which, though in its primary sense it is an imputation made by God to us, yet is it also, as it were, a commencement or prelude of death dwelling in us, by which we are held as by a bond, and rendered subject to condemnation and punishment. *Gen. iii. 7.* ‘the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked.’ *Lev. v. 2, &c.* ‘if it shall be hidden from him, he also shall be unclean and guilty.’ *Rom. iii. 19.* ‘that all the world may become guilty before God.’ Guiltiness, accordingly, is accompanied or followed by terrors of conscience. *Gen. iii. 8.* ‘they heard the voice of God....and Adam and his wife hid themselves....and he said, I was afraid.’ *Rom. viii. 15.* ‘ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear.’ *Heb. ii. 15.* ‘who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage. x. 27. ‘a certain fearful looking for of judgement.’ It is attended likewise with the sensible forfeiture of the divine protection and favour; whence results a diminution of the majesty of the human countenance, and a conscious degradation of mind. *Gen. iii. 7.* ‘they knew that they were naked.’ Hence the whole man becomes polluted: *Tit. i. 15.* ‘even their mind and conscience is defiled:’ whence arises shame:\* *Gen. iii. 7.* ‘they sewed fig-leaves

\* . . . . . innocence, that as a veil  
Had shadow’d them from knowing ill, was gone,

together, and made themselves aprons.' *Rom. vi. 21.*  
 ' what fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye  
 are now ashamed ? for the end of those things is  
 death.'

The second degree of death is called *spiritual death* ; by which is meant the loss of divine grace, ✓  
 and of that innate righteousness, wherein man in the  
 beginning lived unto God. *Eph. ii. 1.* ' who were  
 dead in trespasses and sins.' *iv. 18.* ' alienated from  
 the life of God.' *Col. ii. 13.* ' dead in your sins.'  
*Rev. iii. 1.* ' thou hast a name that thou livest, and  
 art dead.' And this death took place not only on the  
 very day, but at the very moment of the fall. They  
 who are delivered from it are said to be ' regenerated,'  
 to be ' born again,' and to be ' created afresh ;'  
 which is the work of God alone, as will be shown  
 in the chapter on Regeneration.

This death consists, first, in the loss, or at least in  
 the obscuration to a great extent of that right reason  
 which enabled man to discern the chief good, and  
 which was as it were the life of the understanding.  
*Eph. iv. 18.* ' having the understanding darkened, be-  
 ing alienated from the life of God through the igno-  
 rance that is in them.' *v. 8.* ' ye were sometime  
 darkness.' *John i. 5.* ' the darkness comprehended  
 it not.' *Jer. vi. 10.* ' they cannot hearken.' *John*  
*viii. 43.* ' ye cannot hear my word.' *1 Cor. ii. 14.*  
 ' the natural man receiveth not the things of the  
 Spirit of God.' *2 Cor. iii. 5.* ' not that we are suf-  
 ficient of ourselves, to think anything as of ourselves.'

Just confidence, and native righteousness,  
 And honour, from about them, naked left  
 To guilty shame. *Paradise Lost, IX. 1054.*

iv. 4. 'the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not.' *Col.* i. 13. 'who hath delivered us from the power of darkness.' It consists, secondly, in that deprivation of righteousness and of liberty to do good, and in that slavish subjection to sin and the devil, which constitutes, as it were, the death of the will. *John* viii. 34. 'whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin.' All have committed sin in Adam; therefore all are born servants of sin. *Rom.* vii. 14. 'sold under sin.' viii. 3. 'what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh.' v. 7. 'it is not subject unto the law of God, neither indeed can be.' vi. 16, 17. 'his servants ye are to whom ye obey, whether of sin unto death,' &c. *Philipp.* iii. 19. 'whose god is their belly.' *Acts* xxvi. 18. 'from the power of Satan.' *2 Tim.* ii. 26. 'out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.' *Eph.* ii. 2. 'the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.' Lastly, sin is its own punishment, and produces, in its natural consequences, the death of the spiritual life; more especially gross and habitual sin. *Rom.* i. 26. 'for this cause God gave them up unto vile affections.' The reason of this is evident; for in proportion to the increasing amount of his sins, the sinner becomes more liable to death, more miserable, more vile, more destitute of the divine assistance and grace, and farther removed from his primitive glory. It ought not to be doubted that sin in itself alone is the heaviest of all evils, as being contrary to the chief good, that is, to God; whereas punishment seems to be at variance only with the good of the creature, and not always with that.

It cannot be denied, however, that some remnants of the divine image still exist in us, not wholly extinguished by this spiritual death.\* This is evident, not only from the wisdom and holiness of many of the heathen, manifested both in words and deeds, but also from what is said *Gen.* ix. 2. 'the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth.' v. 6. 'who-so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man.' These vestiges of original excellence are visible, first, in the understanding. *Psal.* xix. 1. 'the heavens declare the glory of God;' which could not be, if man were incapable of hearing their voice. *Rom.* i. 19, 20. 'that which may be known of God is manifest in them....for the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen.' v. 32. 'who knowing the judgement of God.' ii. 15. 'which show the work of the law written in their hearts.' vii. 23, 24. 'I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind....O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' Nor, secondly, is the liberty of the will entirely destroyed. First, with regard to things indifferent, whether natural or civil. *1 Cor.* vii. 36, 37, 39. 'let him do what he will....he hath power over his own will....she is at liberty to be married to whom she will.' Secondly, the will is clearly not altogether inefficient in respect of good works, or at any rate of good endeavours; at least after the grace of God has called us: but its power is so small and

\* See p. 77. note †. And again;—'For there are left some remains of God's image in man, as he is merely man'— *Tetrachordon*. Prose Works, II. 124.



insignificant, as merely to deprive us of all excuse for inaction, without affording any subject for boasting. *Deut.* xxx. 19. 'choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live.' *Psal.* lxxviii. 8. 'a generation that set not their heart aright.' *Jer.* vii. 13—16. 'because I spake unto you, rising up early, and speaking, but ye heard not; and I called you, but ye answered not; therefore,' &c. Language which would not have been applied to mere senseless stocks. xxxi. 18. 'turn thou me, and I shall be turned.' *Zech.* i. 3. 'turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you.' *Mark* ix. 24, 24. 'if thou canst believe.... and straightway the father of the child cried out, and said with tears, Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief.' *Rom.* ii. 14. 'when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law.' vi. 16. 'know ye not that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?' vii. 18. 'to will is present with me;' and v. 21. 'when I would do good:' which words appear to be spoken in the person of one not yet fully renewed, and who, if he had experienced God's grace in vocation, was still destitute of his regenerating influence. See v. 14. 'I am carnal, sold under sin.' For as to the expression in v. 25. 'I thank God through Jesus Christ,' this, and similar language and conduct, are not inconsistent with the character of one who is as yet only called. ix. 31. 'Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness.' x. 2. 'they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.' *1 Cor.* ix. 17. 'if I do

this thing willingly, I have a reward, but if against my will—'. *Philipp.* iii. 6. 'concerning zeal, persecuting the church ; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless.' 1 *Pet.* v. 2. 'feed the flock of God....not by constraint, but willingly.' Hence almost all mankind profess some desire of virtue, and turn with abhorrence from some of the more atrocious crimes. 1 *Cor.* v. 1. 'such fornication as is not so much as mentioned among the Gentiles.'

There can be no doubt that for the purpose of vindicating\* the justice of God, especially in his calling of mankind, it is much better to allow to man, (whether as a remnant of his primitive state, or as restored through the operation of the grace whereby he is called) some portion of free will in respect of good works, or at least of good endeavours, rather than in respect of things which are indifferent. For if God be conceived to rule with absolute disposal all the actions of men, natural as well as civil, he appears to do nothing which is not his right, neither will any one murmur against such a procedure. But if he inclines the will of man to moral good or evil, according to his own pleasure, and then rewards the good, and punishes the wicked, the course of equity seems to be disturbed ; and it is entirely on this supposition that the outcry against the divine justice is founded. It would appear, therefore, that God's

\* Ad asserendam justitiam Dei. Milton introduces the Latinism in his *Paradise Lost* :

That to the height of this great argument  
I may *assert* eternal Providence,  
And justify the ways of God to men. I. 24.

general government of the universe, to which such frequent allusion is made, should be understood as relating to natural and civil concerns, to things indifferent and fortuitous, in a word, to anything rather than to matters of morality and religion. And this is confirmed by many passages of Scripture. *2 Chron.* xv. 12, 14. 'they entered into a covenant to seek Jehovah the God of their fathers with all their heart, and with all their soul : and they swore unto Jehovah.' *Psal.* cxix. 106. 'I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous judgements.' For if our personal religion were not in some degree dependent on ourselves, and in our own power, God could not properly enter into a covenant with us ; neither could we perform, much less swear to perform, the conditions of that covenant.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### OF THE DEATH OF THE BODY.

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**T**HE third degree of death is what is called *the death of the body*. To this all the labours, sorrows, and diseases which afflict the body, are nothing but the prelude. *Gen.* iii. 16. 'I will greatly multiply thy sorrow.' v. 17. 'in sorrow shalt thou eat of it.' v. 19. 'in the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread.' *Job* v. 7. 'man is born unto trouble, as the sparks fly upward.' *Deut.* xxviii. 22. 'Jehovah shall smite thee with a consumption.' *Hos.* ii. 18. 'in that day will I make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field.' *Rom.* ii. 9. 'tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil.' All nature is likewise subject to mortality and a curse on account of man. *Gen.* iii. 17. 'cursed is the ground for thy sake.' *Rom.* viii. 20, 21. 'the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly.' Even the beasts are not exempt, *Gen.* iii. 14. vi. 7. So 'the first-born of beasts' in the land of Egypt perished for the sins of their masters, *Exod.* xi. 5.

The death of the body is to be considered in the light of a punishment for sin, no less than the other degrees of death, notwithstanding the contrary opinion

entertained by some.\* *Rom.* v. 13, 14. ‘until the law sin was in the world....death reigned from Adam to Moses.’ *1 Cor.* xv. 21. ‘since by man came death;’ that is to say, temporal as well as eternal death; as is clear from the corresponding member of the sentence, ‘by man came also the resurrection from the dead;’ therefore that bodily death from which we are to rise again, originated in sin, and not in nature; contrary to the opinion of those who maintain that temporal death is the result of natural causes, and that eternal death alone is due to sin.†

✓ The death of the body is the loss or extinction of life. The common definition, which supposes it to consist in the separation of soul and body, is inadmissible.‡ For what part of man is it that dies when this separation takes place? Is it the soul? This will not be admitted by the supporters of the above definition. Is it then the body? But how can that be said

\* Pelagius, Socinus, Crellius, &c. ‘That Adam should not have died if he had not sinned, is so manifestly the doctrine of the Scriptures, and of the church of God, both before and since Christ our Saviour’s appearance in the flesh, that Pelagius of old, and Socinus in this latter age, are justly to be esteemed the most impudent of mortals for daring to call it into question.’ Bp. Bull’s *Discourse on the State of Man before the Fall*. See also Hopkins *On the Two Covenants*.

† This opinion is maintained by Curcellæus, *Instit.* III. 13—21. See also his second dissertation *De Peccato Originis*, 59.

‡ ‘The royal preacher in my text, assuming that man is a compound of an organized body and an immaterial soul, places the formality and essence of death in the disunion and final separation of these two constituent parts: Death is, when ‘the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it.’ Horsley’s *Sermons*, III. 189. The whole of the masterly discourse from which the preceding extract is taken, deserves to be compared with this chapter, as containing in a small compass the most philosophical, as well as scriptural refutation of its arguments. See also the end of the Sermon on John xi. 25, 26. Vol. III. p. 131.

to die, which never had any life of itself? Therefore the separation of soul and body cannot be called the death of man.

Here then arises an important question, which, owing to the prejudice of divines in behalf of their preconceived opinions, has usually been dismissed without examination, instead of being treated with the attention it deserves. Is it the whole man, or the body alone, that is deprived of vitality? And as this is a subject which may be discussed without endangering our faith or devotion, whichever side of the controversy we espouse, I shall declare freely what seems to me the true doctrine, as collected from numberless passages of Scripture; without regarding the opinion of those, who think that truth is to be sought in the schools of philosophy; rather than in the sacred writings.

Inasmuch then as the whole man is uniformly said to consist of body, spirit, and soul, (whatever may be the distinct provinces severally assigned to these divisions,) I will show, that in death, first the whole man, and secondly, each component part suffers privation of life. It is to be observed, first of all, that God denounced the punishment of death against the whole man that sinned, without excepting any part. For what could be more just, than that he who had sinned in his whole person, should die in his whole person? Or, on the other hand, what could be more absurd than that the mind, which is the part principally offending, should escape the threatened death; and that the body alone, to which immortality was equally allotted, before death came into the world by

sin,\* should pay the penalty of sin by undergoing death, though not implicated in the transgression?

It is evident that the saints and believers of old, the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, without exception, held this doctrine. Jacob. *Gen.* xxxvii. 35. 'I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning.' xlii. 36. 'Joseph is not.' So also *Job*, ch. iii. 12—18. 'as an hidden untimely birth I had not been; as infants which never saw light.' Compare x. 21. xiv. 10. 'man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?' v. 13. 'so man lieth down, and riseth not, till the heavens be no more.' xvii. 13. 'if I wait, the grave is mine house.' v. 15, 16. 'where is now my hope?.... they shall go down to the bars of the pit.' See also many other passages. The belief of David was the same, as is evident from the reason so often given by him for deprecating the approach of death. *Psal.* vi. 5. 'in death there is no remembrance of thee; in the grave who shall give thee thanks?' See also lxxxviii. 11—13. cxv. 17. 'the dead praise not Jehovah.' xxxix. 13. 'before I go hence, and be no more.' cxlvi. 2. 'while I live will I praise Jehovah.' Certainly if he had believed that his soul would survive, and be received immediately into heaven, he would

\* See Bp. Bull's *Discourse on the State of Man before the Fall*, where this opinion is illustrated. Milton introduces it in the mouth of Raphael in *Paradise Lost*:

..... Time may come when men  
With angels may participate, and find  
No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare;  
And from these corporal nutriments perhaps  
Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,  
Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend  
Ethereal as we; or may, at choice,  
Here or in heavenly Paradises dwell. V. 493.

have abstained from all such remonstrances, as one who was shortly to take his flight where he might praise God unceasingly. It appears that the belief of Peter respecting David was the same as David's belief respecting himself: *Acts* ii. 29, 34. 'let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day....for David is not ascended into the heavens.' Again, it is evident that Hezekiah fully believed that he should die entirely, where he laments that it is impossible to praise God in the grave. *Isai.* xxxviii. 18, 19. 'for the grave cannot praise thee: death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth: the living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day.' God himself bears testimony to the same truth. *Isai.* lvii. 1, 2. 'the righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come; he shall enter into peace; they shall rest in their beds.' *Jer.* xxxi. 15. compared with *Matt.* ii. 18. 'Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.' Thus also *Daniel*, ch. xii. 2. 'many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake.' It is on the same principle that Christ himself proves God to be a God of the living, *Luke* xx. 37, &c. arguing from their future resurrection; for if they were then living, it would not necessarily follow from his argument that there would be a resurrection of the body: hence he says *John* xi. 25. 'I am the resurrection and the life.' Accordingly he declares expressly, that there is not even a place appointed for



the abode of the saints in heaven, till the resurrection: *John* xiv. 2, 3. 'I go to prepare a place for you: and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.' There is no sufficient reason for interpreting this of the body; it is clear therefore that it was spoken, and should be understood, of the reception of the soul and spirit conjointly with the body into heaven, and that not till the coming of the Lord. So likewise *Luke* xx. 35. *Acts* vii. 60. 'when he had said this, he fell asleep.' xxiii. 6. 'the hope and resurrection of the dead;' that is, the hope of the resurrection, which was the only hope the apostle professed to entertain. Thus also xxiv. 21. xxvi. 6—8. 1 *Cor.* xv. 17—19. 'if Christ be not raised' (which resurrection took place for the very purpose that mankind might likewise rise again) 'then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ, are perished;' whence it appears that there were only two alternatives, one of which must ensue; either they must rise again, or perish: for 'if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable;' which again indicates that we must either believe in the resurrection, or have our hope in this life only. v. 29, 30. 'if the dead rise not at all, why stand we in jeopardy every hour?' v. 32. 'let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die;' that is, die altogether, for otherwise the argument would have no force. In the verses which follow, from v. 42. to v. 50. the reasoning proceeds on the supposition that there are only two states, the mortal and the immortal, death and resurrection; not a word is said of any intermediate condition. Nay, Paul himself affirms that

the crown of righteousness which was laid up for him was not to be received before that last day : ' 2 *Tim.* iv. 8. ' henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.' If a crown were *laid up* for the apostle, it follows that it was not to be received immediately after death. At what time then was it to be received ? At the same time when it was to be conferred on the rest of the saints, that is, not till the appearance of Christ in glory. *Philipp.* ii. 16. ' that I may rejoice in the day of Christ. iii. 11. ' if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. v. 20, 21. ' our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ ; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body.' Our conversation therefore is in heaven, not where we are now dwelling, but in that place from whence we look for the coming of the Saviour, who shall conduct us thither. *Luke* xx. 35, 36. ' they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, &c.....for they are equal unto the angels....being the children of the resurrection,'—that is, when they finally become such ; whence it follows, that previous to the resurrection they are not admitted to that heavenly world.

Thus far proof has been given of the death of the whole man. But lest recourse should be had to the sophistical distinction, that although the whole man dies, it does not therefore follow that the whole of man should die, I proceed to give similar proof with

regard to each of the parts, the body, the spirit, and the soul, according to the division above stated.

First, then, as to the body, no one doubts that it suffers privation of life. Nor will the same be less evident as regards the spirit, if it be allowed that the spirit, according to the doctrine laid down in the seventh chapter, has no participation in the divine nature, but is purely human ; and that no reason can be assigned, why, if God has sentenced to death the whole of man that sinned, the spirit, which is the part principally offending, should be alone exempt from the appointed punishment ; especially since, previous to the entrance of sin into the world, all parts of man were alike immortal ; and that, since that time, in pursuance of God's denunciation, all have become equally subject to death.\* But to come to the proofs.

\* . . . . Yet one doubt  
Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die ;  
Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of man  
Which God inspired, cannot together perish  
With this corporeal clod : then in the grave,  
Or in some other dreadful place, who knows  
But I shall die a living death ? O thought  
Horrid, if true ! yet why ? it was but breath  
Of life that sinn'd ; what dies but what had life  
And sin ? the body properly had neither.  
All of me then shall die : let this appease  
The doubt, since human reach no further knows.

*Paradise Lost*, X. 782.

When Milton wrote *Il Penseroso*, his opinions respecting the soul seem to have been different. He there summons the spirit of Plato to unfold the mystery of the separate state in which he supposed it to exist after death.

. . . . . unsphere  
The spirit of Plato to unfold  
What worlds, or what vast regions hold  
Th' immortal mind, that hath forsook  
Her mansion in this fleshly nook.

*Il Penseroso*, 88.

The Preacher himself, the wisest of men, expressly denies that the spirit is exempt from death : iii. 18—20. ‘ as the beast dieth, so dieth the man ; yea, they have all one breath....all go unto one place.’ And in the twenty-first verse, he condemns the ignorance of those who venture to affirm that the way of the spirits of men and of beasts after death is different : ‘ who knoweth the spirit of man, (an sursum ascendat,) whether it goeth upward ?’\* *Psal.* cxlvi. 4. ‘ his breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth ; in that very day his thoughts perish.’ Now the thoughts are in the mind and the spirit, not in the body ; and if they perish, we must conclude that the mind and spirit undergo the same fate as the body. 1 *Cor.* v. 5. ‘ that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus :’ the apostle does not say ‘ in the day of death,’ but ‘ in the day of the Lord.’

Lastly, there is abundant testimony to prove that the soul (whether we understand by this term the whole human composition, or whether it is to be understood as synonymous with the spirit) is subject to death, natural as well as violent. *Numb.* xxiii. 10. ‘ let me (anima mea, Lat. Vulg.) die the death of the righteous.’ Such are the words of Balaam, who, though not the most upright of prophets, yet in this instance uttered the words which the Lord put into his mouth ; v. 9. *Job* xxxiii. 18. ‘ he keepeth back his soul from the pit.’ xxxvi. 14. ‘ they (anima eorum, Lat. Vulg.) die in youth.’ *Psal.* xxii. 20.

\* ‘ Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward ?’—Authorized Transl. See Bp. Bull’s *Discourse on the Subsistence of the Soul of Man after death*. His supposition is, that the words are spoken by an Epicurean (if he may be allowed to call him so by anticipation) who is deriding the notion of the soul’s immortality.

‘deliver my soul from the sword.’ lxxviii. 50. ‘he spared not their soul from death.’ lxxxix. 48. ‘shall he deliver his soul from the hand of the grave?’ xciv. 17. ‘my soul had almost dwelt in silence.’ Hence man himself, when dead, is spoken of under the name of ‘the soul;’ *Lev.* xix. 28. Hebr. and xxi. 1, 11. ‘neither shall he go in to any dead body’ (soul, Hebr.) *Isai.* xxxviii. 17. ‘thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the pit of corruption.’ The just and sufficient reason assigned above for the death of the soul, is the same which is given by God himself; *Ezek.* xviii. 20. ‘the soul that sinneth, it shall die:’ and therefore, on the testimony of the prophet and the apostle, as well as of Christ himself, the soul even of Christ was for a short time subject unto death on account of our sins: *Psal.* xvi. 10. compared with *Acts* ii. 27, 28, 31. ‘his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption.’ *Matt.* xxvi. 38. ‘my soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.’ Nor do we anywhere read that the souls assemble, or are summoned to judgement, from heaven or from hell, but that they are all called out of the tomb, or at least that they were previously in the state of the dead. *John.* v. 28, 29. ‘the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth.’ In this passage those who rise again, those who hear, those who come forth, are all described as being in the graves, the righteous as well as the wicked. *1 Cor.* xv. 52. ‘the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised.’ *1 Thess.* iv. 13—17. ‘but I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others

which have no hope : for if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him : for this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep ; for the Lord himself shall descend,' &c....' and the dead in Christ shall rise first : then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them into the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air ; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.' They *were asleep* ; but the lifeless body does not sleep, unless inanimate matter can be said to sleep. 'That ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope,'—but why should they sorrow and have no hope, if they believed that their souls would be in a state of salvation and happiness even before the resurrection, whatever might become of the body ? The rest of the world, indeed, who had no hope, might with reason despair concerning the soul as well as the body, because they did not believe in the resurrection ; and therefore it is to the resurrection that Paul directs the hope of all believers. 'Them which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him ;' that is, to heaven from the grave. 'We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep.' But there would have been no reason to fear lest the survivors should prevent them, if they who were asleep had long since been received into heaven ; in which case the latter would not come 'to meet the Lord,' but would return with him. 'We' however, 'which are alive shall be caught up together with them,' not after them, 'and so shall we ever be with

the Lord,' namely, after, not before the resurrection. And then at length 'the wicked shall be severed from among the just,' *Matt.* xiii. 49. *Dan.* xii. 2. 'many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.' In such a sleep I should suppose Lazarus to have been lying, if it were asked whether his soul betook itself during those four days of death. For I cannot believe that it would have been called back from heaven to suffer again the inconveniences of the body, but rather that it was summoned from the grave, and roused from the sleep of death. The words of Christ themselves lead to this conclusion : *John* xi. 11, 13. 'our friend Lazarus sleepeth ; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep : howbeit Jesus spake of his death :' which death, if the miracle were true, must have been real. This is confirmed by the circumstances of Christ's raising him ; v. 43. 'he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus come forth.' If the soul of Lazarus, that is, if Lazarus himself was not within the grave, why did Christ call on the lifeless body which could not hear ? If it were the soul which he addressed, why did he call it from a place where it was not ? Had he intended to intimate that the soul was separated from the body, he would have directed his eyes to the quarter whence the soul of Lazarus might be expected to return, namely, from heaven : for to call from the grave what is not there, is like seeking the living among the dead, which the angel reprehended as ignorance in the disciples, *Luke* xxiv. 5. the same is apparent in the raising of the widow's son : *Luke* vii. 14.

On the other hand, those who assert that the soul is exempt from death, and that when divested of the body, it wings its way, or is conducted by angels, directly to its appointed place of reward or punishment, where it remains in a separate state of existence to the end of the world, found their belief principally on the following passages of Scripture. *Psal.* xlix. 15. 'God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave.' But this proves rather that the soul enters the grave with the body, as was shown above, from whence it needs to be redeemed, namely, at the resurrection, when 'God shall receive it,' as follows in the same verse. As for the remainder, 'their redemption ceaseth for ever.' v. 8. and they are 'like the beasts that perish,' v. 12, 14.

The second text is *Eccles.* xii. 7. 'the spirit shall return unto God that gave it.' But neither does this prove what is required; for the phrase, 'the spirit returning to God,' must be understood with considerable latitude; since the wicked do not return to God at death, but depart far from him. The preacher had moreover said before, iii. 20. 'all go unto one place;' and God is said both to have given, and to gather unto himself the spirit of every living thing, whilst the body returns to dust, *Job* xxxiv. 14, 15. 'if he gather unto himself his spirit and his breath, all flesh shall perish together, and man shall turn again unto dust.' See also *Psal.* civ. 29, 30. Euripides in the *Suppliants* has, without being aware of it, given a far better interpretation of this passage than the commentators in question.\*

\* 'How much more rationally spake the heathen king Demophoon in a tragedy of Euripides, than these interpreters would put upon king



ἴθεν δ' ἕκαστον εἰς τὸ φῶς \* ἀφίκετο,  
 ἐνταῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα,  
 τὸ σῶμα δ' εἰς γῆν—. 532. *Edit. Beck.*

Each various part  
 That constitutes the frame of man, returns  
 Whence it was taken ; to th' ethereal sky  
 The soul, the body to its earth.

Line 599. *Potter's Transl.*

that is, every constituent part returns at dissolution to its elementary principle. This is confirmed by *Ezek.* xxxvii. 9. 'come from the four winds, O breath ;' it is certain therefore that the spirit of man must have previously departed thither from whence it is now summoned to return. Hence perhaps originates the expression in *Matt.* xxiv. 31. 'they shall gather together the elect from the four winds.' For why should not the spirits of the elect be as easily gathered together\* as the smallest particles of their bodies, sometimes most widely dispersed throughout

David.' *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.* Prose Works, II. 280. It is related on the authority of one of Milton's daughters, that, after the Holy Scriptures, his favourite volumes were Homer, Euripides, and Ovid. The present Treatise contains nine quotations from the classics, seven of which are from the authors mentioned. Aristotle, whom he calls 'one of the best interpreters of nature and morality,' (*Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, II. 279.) is likewise often expressly quoted, or alluded to ; but not a single direct reference is made to Plato, who, as Mr. Todd justly remarks on the authority of the poet himself, was one of the principal objects of his regard. *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton*, p. 152.

\* This is the reading proposed by Porson, *Adversaria*, p. 235. Toup (in *Suid.* II. p. 6.) suggested ἐξ ἧς instead of ἐξ αὐμ', but the offence against metre was pointed out by Porson, *Notæ Breves ad Toupii Emendationes*, ad p. 234. In the next line the old reading was ἀπὸ γῆς. Gataker proposed ἀπὸ γῆς, which emendation was adopted by Musgrave, and approved by Porson.

different countries? In the same manner is to be understood 1 *Kings* xvii. 21. 'let this child's soul come into him again.' This however is a form of speech applied to fainting in general : *Judges* xv. 19. 'his spirit came again, and he revived.' See also 1 Sam. xxx. 12. For there are many passages of Scripture, some of which have been already quoted, which undoubtedly represent the dead as devoid of all vital existence ; but what was advanced above respecting the death of the spirit affords a sufficient answer to the objection.

The third passage is *Matt.* x. 28. 'fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul.' It may be answered that, properly speaking, the body cannot be killed, as being in itself a thing inanimate : the body therefore, as is common in Scripture, must be taken for the whole human compound, or for the animal and temporal life ; the soul for that spiritual life with which we shall be clothed after the end of the world, as appears from the remainder of the verse, and from 1 *Cor.* xv. 44.

The fourth text is *Philipp.* i. 23. 'having a desire to depart (cupiens dissolvi, *having a desire for dissolution*) and to be with Christ.' But, to say nothing of the uncertain and disputed sense of the word ἀναλῦσαι, which signifies any thing rather than *dissolution*,\* it may be answered, that although Paul desired to obtain immediate possession of heavenly perfection and glory, in like manner as every one is desirous of attaining as soon as possible to that, what-

\* 'Qui urgent propriam solvendi et dissolvendi notionem, hi adeant Duker. ad Florum IV. 11. extr. qui docuit, solvi etiam metaphorice apud Latinos pro mori poni.' Schleusner in voce ἀναλύνω.

ever it may be, which he regards as the ultimate object of his being, it by no means follows that, when the soul of each individual leaves the body, it is received immediately either into heaven or hell. For he 'had a desire to be with Christ;' that is, at his appearing, which all the believers hoped and expected was then at hand. In the same manner one who is going on a voyage desires to set sail and to arrive at the destined port, (such is the order in which his wishes arrange themselves) omitting all notice of the intermediate passage. If, however, it be true that there is no time without motion, which Aristotle illustrates by the example of those who were fabled to have slept in the temple of the heroes, and who, on awaking, imagined that the moment in which they awoke had succeeded without an interval to that in which they fell asleep;\* how much more must intervening time be annihilated to the departed, so that to them to die and to be with Christ will seem to take place at the same moment? Christ himself, however, ex-

\* Ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐδ' αὖτις γι μεταβολῆς· ὅταν γὰρ αὐτοὶ μὴτι μεταβάλλωμεν τὴν διάστασιν, ἢ λάβωμεν μεταβάλλοντες, οὐ δοκεῖ ἡμῖν γιγνέσθαι ὁ χρόνος· κατὰ τὴν οὐδ' αὖτις ἐν τῇ Σαρδαῖ μυθολογικῶν καθεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἔκθεσι, ὅταν ἐγερθῶσι· συνέπνευσεν γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον οὗ τῇ ὕπνῳ οὗ, καὶ ἐν πρῶτον, ἔκθεσις διὰ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν τὸ μεταξὺ. *Nat. Auscult.* IV. 16. Edit. Duvall. Simplicius in his scholium on this passage explains the allusion at some length, but the most material part of his information is contained in the following note of Kuhniius. 'Paulo modestius agunt Græci cum loquuntur de heroibus in Sardinia dormientibus, quorum mentionem facit Aristoteles libro IV. &c. Ubi Simplicius—ex Herculis filiis, quos ex Thestii natis susceperat, nonnullos in Sardinia mortuos dici, illorumque corpora usque ad Aristotelis, forte et usque ad Alexandri Aphrodisiensis tempora mansisse integra et ἀσφρα, et speciem dormientium præbuisse. Apud hos captabant dormientes somnia, et συμβολικῶς somnos protrahebant, qui ab his heroibus corporis valetudinem comminodam, vel alia quædam petitem venerant. Vide Schol. Græc. in Luciani Tom. I. pag. 3.' Kuhnii *Observationes in Diogenis Laërtii* Lib. I. Segm. 109.

pressly indicates the time at which we shall be with him ; *John* xiv. 3. ' if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself ; that where I am, there ye may be also.'

The fifth text evidently favours my view of the subject : 1 *Pet.* iii. 19. ' by which also he went and preached to the spirits that are in prison,' literally, *in guard*, or, as the Syriac version renders it, *in sepulchro*, *in the grave*, which means the same ; for the grave is the common guardian of all till the day of judgement. What therefore the apostle says more fully, iv. 5, 6. ' who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead ; for, for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead,' he expresses it in this place by a metaphor, ' the spirits that are in guard ;' it follows, therefore, that the spirits are dead.

The sixth text is *Rev.* vi. 9. ' I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain.' I answer, that in the Scripture idiom the soul is generally often put for the whole animate body, and that in this passage it is used for the souls of those who were not yet born ; unless indeed the fifth seal was already opened in the time of John ; in the same manner as in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, *Luke* xvi. though Christ, for the sake of the lesson to be conveyed, speaks of that as present which was not to take place till after the day of judgement, and describes the dead as placed in two distinct states, he by no means intimates any separation of the soul from the body.

The seventh text is *Luke* xxiii. 43. ' Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.' This passage has on vari-

ous accounts occasioned so much trouble, that some have not hesitated to alter the punctuation, as if it had been written, ‘I say unto thee to-day ;\* that is, although I seem to-day the most despised and miserable of all men, yet I declare to thee and assure thee, that thou shalt hereafter be with me in paradise, that is, in some pleasant place, (for properly speaking paradise is not heaven) or in the spiritual state allotted to the soul and body. The same expedient has been resorted to *Matt. xxvii. 52, 53.* At the time of the earthquake, on the same day (not three days after, as is generally supposed) the graves were opened, the dead arose and came out, v. 52. *καὶ ἐξελθόντες*, and having come out at length after the resurrection of Christ they went into the holy city ; for so, according to Erasmus, the ancient Greeks pointed the passage ;† and with this the Syriac agrees : *et egressi sunt, et post resurrectionem ejus ingressi sunt*, &c. That spiritual state in which the souls as well as bodies of the arising saints previously abode, might not improperly be called paradise ; and it was in this state, as appears to me, that the penitent thief was united to the other saints without punishment for sin.

\* ‘Hanc vocem præcedentibus jungendam esse statuit cum aliis Hesychius, O. 49. qui citantur Schol. Codicis 34. Theophylactus. ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκβάλλουσι τὸ ἥμα, σκίζοντες εἰς τὸ σήμερον, ἵνα ἢ τὸ λογίζουσι τοῦτον ἄμην λίγω σοι σήμερον ὥστε τὸ μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἵσθαι ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ συνεσθιέμεν. Sever. *Apologet* 22.’ Wetsten. ad Luc. xxiii. 43. See the remarks of Whitby on this passage, and the reason which he gives against the punctuation proposed.

† ‘Græci sic distinguunt, ut appareat eos statim mortuo Christo resurrexisse ; verum non egressos e monumentis, nec apparuisse, priusquam resurrexisset Christus. Unde *resurrexerunt* positum est pro *revixerunt*.’ Erasmus ad Matt. xxviii. 55. He proceeds to quote Jerome, Chrysostom, and Origen in support of this interpretation. Theophylact and Augustine are against it.

Nor is it necessary to take the word *to-day* in its strict acceptation, but rather for a short time, as in 2 *Sam.* xvi. 3. *Heb.* iii. 7. However this may be, so much clear evidence should not be rejected on account of a single passage, of which it is not easy to give a satisfactory interpretation.

The eighth text is the forty-sixth verse of the same chapter; 'into thy hands I commend my spirit.' But the spirit is not therefore separated from the body, or incapable of death; for David uses the same language *Psal.* xxxi. 5. although he was not then about to die: 'into thine hand I commit my spirit,' while it was yet abiding in, and with the body. So Stephen, *Acts* vii. 59. 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit....and when he had said this, he fell asleep.' It was not the bare spirit divested of the body that he commended ✓ to Christ, but 'the whole spirit and soul and body,' as it is expressed 1 *Thess.* v. 23. Thus the spirit of Christ was to be raised again with the body on the third day, while that of Stephen was to be reserved till the appearing of the Lord. So 1 *Pet.* iv. 19. 'let them commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing.'

The ninth passage is 2 *Cor.* v. 1—20. It is sufficiently apparent, however, that the object of this passage is not to inculcate the separation of the soul from the body, but to contrast the animal and terrestrial life of the whole man with the spiritual and heavenly. Hence in the first verse 'the house of this tabernacle' is opposed, not to the soul, but to 'a building of God, an house not made with hands,' that is, to the final renewal of the whole man, as Beza also explains it,\*

\* 'Arrepta occasione ex comparatione proxime præcedente, corpus intud, ut est in hac vita calamitosum, comparat cum caduco et fragili

whereby 'we are clothed upon' in the heavens, 'being clothed....not naked,' v. 3. This distinctly appears from the fourth verse: 'not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.' See also v. 5. 'now he that hath wrought us for the selfsame thing is God;' not for the separation of the soul from the body, but for the perfecting of both. Wherefore the clause in the eighth verse, 'to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord,' must be understood of the consummation of our happiness; and 'the body' must be taken for this frail life, as is common in the sacred writers, and the 'absence' spoken of v. 9. for our eternal departure to an heavenly world; or perhaps to be 'at home in the body, and to be absent from the Lord,' v. 6. may mean nothing more than to be entangled in worldly affairs, and to have little leisure for heavenly things; the reason of which is given v. 7. 'for we walk by faith, not by sight:' whence it follows, v. 8. 'we are confident and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord; that is, to renounce worldly things as much as possible, and to be occupied with things heavenly. The ninth verse proves still more clearly that the expressions 'to be present' and 'to be absent' both refer to this life: 'wherefore we labour that whether present or absent, we may be accepted of God:' for no one supposes that the souls of men are occupied from the time of death to that of the resurrection in

*tabernaculo; cui opponit cœleste domicilium, sic vocans firmam et perennem ejusdem corporis in cœlo glorificati conditionem.....est autem etiam hic locus, de futura gloria, isti tractationi de ministerii dignitate insertus,' &c. Beza ad 2 Cor. v. 1.*

endeavours to render themselves acceptable to God in heaven ; that is the employment of the present life, and its reward is not to be looked for till the second coming of Christ. For the apostle says, v. 10. ‘ we must all appear before the judgement-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.’ There is consequently no recompense of good or bad after death, previous to the day of judgement. Compare 1 *Cor.* xv. the whole of which chapter throws no small light on this passage. The same sense is to be ascribed to 2 *Pet.* i. 13—15 ; ‘ as long as I am in this tabernacle,’ &c. that is, in this life. It is however unnecessary to prolong this discussion, as there is scarcely one of the remaining passages of Scripture which has not been already explained by anticipation.

The fourth and last degree of death, is *death eternal, the punishment of the damned* ; which will be considered in the twenty-seventh chapter. ✓



## CHAPTER XIV.

### OF MAN'S RESTORATION, AND OF CHRIST AS RE-DEEMER.

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**WE** have hitherto considered the Providence of God in relation to the fall of man ; we are now to consider it as operating in his restoration.

*The restoration of man* is the act whereby man, being delivered from sin and death by God the Father through Jesus Christ, is raised to a far more excellent state of grace and glory than that from which he had fallen. *Rom.* v. 15. 'but not as the offence, so also is the free gift : for if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many.' v. 17. 'for if by one man's offence death reigned by one ; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.' See also v. 21. *Eph.* i. 9, 10. 'according to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in himself . . . that he might gather together in one all things in Christ.' 1 *John* iii. 8. 'he that committeth sin is of the devil . . . for this purpose

the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.'

In this restoration are comprised the *redemption* and *renovation of man*.

*Redemption* is that act whereby *Christ, being sent in the fulness of time, redeemed all believers at the price of his own blood, by his own voluntary act, conformably to the eternal counsel and grace of God the Father.*

*Conformably to the eternal counsel of God the Father.* 1 *Pet.* i. 20. 'the Lamb . . . . preordained before the foundation of the world.' See other passages to the same effect in the fourth chapter, on Predestination.

*Grace.* Even before man had, properly speaking, confessed his guilt, that is, before he had avowed it ingenuously and in the spirit of repentance, God nevertheless, in pronouncing the punishment of the serpent, previously to passing sentence on man, promised that he would raise up from the seed of the woman one who should bruise the serpent's head, *Gen.* iii. 15. and thus anticipated the condemnation of mankind by a gratuitous redemption. *John* iii. 16. 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son—'. *Rom.* iii. 25. 'whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith.' v. 8. 'God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.' *Heb.* ii. 9. 'that he, by the grace of God, should taste death for every man.' 1 *John* iv. 9, 10. 'in this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son . . . . not that we loved God, but that he loved us.' Hence the Father

is often called 'our Saviour,' inasmuch as it is by his eternal counsel and grace alone that we are saved. *Luke* i. 47. 'my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.' v. 68, 69. 'blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people, and hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David.' 1 *Tim.* i. 1. 'by the commandment of God our Saviour, and Lord Jesus Christ, which is our hope.' ii. 3. 'for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.' iv. 10. 'we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men.' *Tit.* i. 3. 'according to the commandment of God our Saviour.' ii. 10. 'that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.' iii. 4—6. 'but after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared, . . . according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour.' *Jude* 25. 'to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory ;' where the *Vetus Interpres* and some of the Greek manuscripts add, 'through Jesus Christ our Lord.'\*

*Christ being sent in the fulness of time.* *Gal.* iv. 4. 'but when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son.' *Eph.* i. 10. 'in the dispensation of the fulness of times.'

*At the price of his own blood.* *Isai.* liii. 1, &c. *Acts* xx. 28. 'the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.' *Rom.* iii. 25. 'a

\* These words are found in fifteen manuscripts, according to Wetstein, and in the Vulgate, two Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic versions. See also Mill on this verse.

propitiation through faith in his blood.' 1 *Cor.* vi. 20. 'ye are bought with a price.' See also vii. 23. *Gal.* iii. 13. 'being made a curse for us.' *Eph.* v. 2. 'he hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God.' *Heb.* ii. 9. 'that he should taste death for every man.' xiii. 20. 'through the blood of the everlasting covenant.' 1 *Pet.* i. 19. 'with the precious blood of Christ.' iii. 18. 'Christ also hath once suffered for sins.' *Rev.* i. 5. 'that washed us from our sins in his own blood.' v. 9. 'thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood.' xiii. 8. 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.'

*By his own voluntary act.* *Isai.* liii. 10. 'upon condition that his soul make a trespass offering,'\* *Horsley's Translation.* *Matt.* xx. 28. 'to give his life a ransom for many.' *John* x. 15, 18. 'I lay down my life for the sheep: no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself; I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.' *Eph.* v. 2. 'he hath given himself for us.' *Philipp.* ii. 8. 'became obedient unto death.' 1 *Tim.* ii. 6. 'who gave himself a ransom for all.'

*All believers.* *Rom.* iii. 25. 'a propitiation through faith in his blood.'

There is no other Redeemer or Mediator besides Christ. *Acts* iv. 12. 'neither is there salvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven

\* 'That his soul should make the trespass offering, expresses that it was with the full consent of his own mind that he made the painful atonement. See Vitringa upon the place.' *Horsley's Bibl. Crit.* in loc. *Quandoquidem semetipsum exposuit*, Tremellius. *If his soul shall make a propitiatory sacrifice.* Lowth's Translation. A different sense is given to the passage in our authorized version: *when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin.*

given among men, whereby we must be saved.' 1 *Tim.* ii. 5. 'there is one mediator....the man Christ Jesus.' *John* xiv. 6. 'no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.'

There was a promise made to all mankind, and an expectation of the Redeemer, more or less distinct, even from the time of the fall. *Gen.* iii. 15. 'I will put enmity.' xxii. 18. 'in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.' See also xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14. xlix. 10. 'until Shiloh, or the peacemaker come.' *Deut.* xviii. 15. 'Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken: according to all that thou desiredst of Jehovah thy God in Horeb....saying, Let me not hear again the voice of Jehovah my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not.' *Job* xix. 25, 26. 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' In the Psalms and prophetic writings the advent of the Redeemer is intimated with less obscurity. *Psal.* lxxxix. 35, 36. 'once have I sworn by my holiness, that I will not lie unto David. His seed shall endure for ever.' *Isai.* xi. 1, &c. 'there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse.' *Jer.* xxx. 9. 'they shall serve Jehovah their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them.' xxxiii. 15. 'at that time will I cause the branch of righteousness to grow up unto David.'

At the appointed time he was sent into the world. *Gal.* iv. 4. as above.

Two points are to be considered in relation to Christ's character as Redeemer: his *nature* and *office*.

His *nature* is twofold; divine and human. *Matt.* xvi. 16. 'the Christ, the Son of the living God.' *Gen.*

iii. 15. 'the seed of the woman.' *John* i. 1, 14. 'the Word was God....and the Word was made flesh.'  
 iii. 13. 'he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man that is in heaven.' v. 31. 'he that cometh from above....he that cometh from heaven.' *Acts* ii. 30. 'of the fruit of the loins of David, according to the flesh. See also *Rom.* i. 3. viii. 3. 'God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh.' ix. 5. 'of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God.' *1 Cor.* xv. 47. 'the second man is the Lord from heaven.' *Gal.* iv. 4. 'God sent forth his Son, made of a woman.' *Philipp.* ii. 7, 8. 'but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man—.' *Heb.* ii. 14, 16. 'he also himself took part of flesh and blood.... he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham.' x. 5, &c. 'wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me....then said I, Lo, I come.' *1 John* i. 7. 'the blood of Jesus Christ his Son.' iv. 2. 'every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God.' *Col.* ii. 9. 'in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;' which passage I understand, not of the divine nature of Christ, but of the entire virtue of the Father, and the full completion of his promises, (for so I would interpret the word, rather than *fulness*,) dwelling in, not hypostatically united with, Christ's human nature; and this *bodily*, that is, not in ceremonies and the rudiments of the world, but really and substantially; according to *Isai.* xi. 2, &c. 'the Spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him,

the spirit of wisdom.' *John* iii. 34. 'God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him.' i. 17. 'grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.' 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. 'God was manifest in the flesh,' that is, in the incarnate Son, his own image. With regard to Christ's divine nature, the reader is referred to what was proved in a former chapter concerning the Son of God; from whence it follows, that he by whom all things were made both in heaven and earth, even the angels themselves, he who in the beginning was the Word, and God with God, and although not supreme, yet the first born of every creature, must necessarily have existed previous to his incarnation, whatever subtleties may have been invented to evade this conclusion by those who contend for the merely human nature of Christ.

This incarnation of Christ, whereby he, being God, took upon him the human nature, and was made flesh, without thereby ceasing to be numerically the same as before, is generally considered by theologians as, next to the Trinity in Unity, the greatest mystery of our religion. Of the mystery of the Trinity, however, no mention is made in Scripture; whereas the incarnation is frequently called by this name. 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. 'without controversy great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh—.' *Col.* ii. 2, 3. 'to the acknowledgement of the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ; in which' \* (namely, in the mystery) 'are hid all the treasures of wisdom.' *Eph.* i. 9, 10. 'having made known unto us the mystery of his will....that he might gather together in one all things in Christ.' iii. 4. 'in the mystery of Christ.' See also *Col.* iv. 3. *Eph.* iii. 9.

\* *In whom.* Authorized Translation.

‘the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ.’ *Col. i. 26, 27.* ‘the riches of the glory of this mystery....which is Christ.’

Since then this mystery is so great, we are admonished by that very consideration not to assert anything respecting it rashly or presumptuously, on mere grounds of philosophical reasoning; not to add to it anything of our own; not even to adduce in its behalf any passage of Scripture of which the purport may be doubtful, but to be contented with the clearest texts, however few in number. If we listen to such passages, and are willing to acquiesce in the simple truth of Scripture, unincumbered by metaphysical comments, to how many prolix and preposterous arguments shall we put an end! how much occasion of heresy shall we remove! how many ponderous dabbings in theology shall we cast out, purging the temple of God from the contamination of their rubbish! Nothing would be more plain, and agreeable to reason, nothing more suitable to the understanding even of the meanest individual, than such parts of the Christian faith as are declared in Scripture to be necessary for salvation, if teachers, even of the reformed church, were as yet sufficiently impressed with the propriety of insisting on nothing but divine authority in matters relating to God, and of limiting themselves to the contents of the sacred volume. What is essential would easily appear, when freed from the perplexities of controversy; what is mysterious would be suffered to remain inviolate, and we should be fearful of overstepping the bounds of propriety in its investigation.



The opinion, however, which now prevails, or rather which has prevailed for many ages, is this; that whereas it was contended in a former stage of the controversy respecting Christ, that the three persons of the Trinity were united in one nature, it is now asserted, on the other hand, that two natures are so combined in the one person of Christ, that he has a real and perfect subsistence in the one nature, independently of that which properly belongs to the other; insomuch that two natures are comprehended in one person. This is what is called in the schools the hypostatic union. Such is the explanation of Zanchius, Vol. I. Part II. Book II. Chap. 7.\* ‘He took upon him not man, properly speaking, but the human nature. For the Logos being in the womb of the virgin assumed the human nature by forming a body of the substance of Mary, and creating at the same time a soul to animate it. Moreover, such was his intimate and exclusive assumption of this nature, that it never had any separate subsistence, independent of the Logos; but did then first subsist, and has ever since subsisted, in the Logos alone.’ I say nothing of the silence of Scripture respecting the above arcana, though they are promulgated with as much confidence, as if he who thus ventures to deliver them on his own authority, had been a witness in the womb of Mary to the mysteries which he describes. He argues as if it were possible to assume human

\* ‘Assumpsit humanam naturam, non hominem proprie loquendo. Nam λόγος in utero virginis existens, humanam naturam sibi ipse, in seipso, tum corpus ex substantia Mariæ formando, tum animam simul creando, assumpsit; atque ita illam in seipso, et sibi assumpsit, ut illa natura nunquam per se substituerit, extra λόγος; sed et tum primum, et deinceps semper in λόγος tantum substituerit.’

nature, without at the same time assuming man ; for human nature, that is, the form of man in a material mould, wherever it exists, constitutes at once the proper and entire man, deficient in no part of his essence, not even (if the words have any meaning) in subsistence and personality. In reality, however, subsistence is the same as substantial existence ; and personality is nothing but a word perverted from its proper use to patch up the threadbare theories of theologians. It is certain that the Logos was made that which he assumed ; if then he assumed the human nature, not man, he was made not man, but the human nature ; these two things being inseparable.

But before I proceed to demonstrate the weakness of the received opinion, it is necessary to explain the meaning of the three terms so frequently recurring, *nature*, *person*, and *hypostasis*, which last word is translated in Latin, *substantia* or *subsistentia*, *sub-* ✓ *stance* or *subsistence*. *Nature* in the present instance can signify nothing, but either the actual essence, or the properties of that essence. Since however these properties are inseparable from the essence, and the union of the natures is *hypostatical*, not *accidental*, we must conclude that the term *nature* can here mean only the essence itself. *Person* is a metaphorical word, transferred from the stage to the schools of theology, signifying any one individual being, as the logicians express it ; any intelligent ens, numerically one, whether God, or angel, or man. The Greek word *hypostasis* can signify nothing in the present case but what is expressed in Latin by *substantia* or *subsistentia*, *substance* or *subsistence* ; that is to say, a perfect essence existing *per se* ;

whence it is generally put in opposition to merely *accidents*.

Hence the union of two natures in Christ must be considered as the mutual hypostatic union of two essences ; for where there is a perfect substantial essence, there must also be an hypostasis or subsistence, inasmuch as they are the same thing ; so that one Christ, one ens, one person, is formed of this mutual hypostatic union of two natures or essences. For it is no more to be feared that the union of two hypostases should constitute two persons, than that the same consequence should result from the union of two natures, that is to say, of two essences. If however the human nature of Christ never had any proper and independent subsistence, or if the Son did not take upon himself that subsistence, it would have been no more possible for him to have been made very man, or even to have assumed the real and perfect substance or essence of man, than for the body of Christ to be present in the sacrament without quantity or local extension, as the Papists assert.\* This indeed they explain by his divine power, their usual resort in such cases. It is however of no use to allege a divine power, the existence of which cannot be proved on divine authority. There is then in Christ a mutual hypostatic union of two natures, that is to say, of two essences, of two substances, and consequently of two persons ; nor does this union prevent the respective properties of each from re-

\* Those words . . . are as much against plain equity and the mercy of religion, as those words of " take, eat, this is my body," elementally understood, are against nature and sense.' *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. Prose Works, II. 37.

maintaining individually distinct. That the fact is so, is sufficiently certain ; the mode of union is unknown to us ; and it is best to be ignorant of what God wills should remain unknown. If indeed it were allowable to define and determine with precision in mysteries of this kind, why should not our philosophical inquisitiveness lead us to inquire respecting the external form common to the two natures ? For if the divine and human nature have coalesced in one person, that is to say, as my opponents themselves admit, in a reasonable being, numerically one, it follows that these two natures must have also coalesced in one external form. The consequence would be, either that the divine form must have been annihilated or blended with the human, which would be absurd, unless they were previously the same ; or, vice versa, that the human must have been annihilated or blended with the divine, unless it exactly resembled the latter ; or, which is the only remaining alternative, Christ must be considered as having two forms. How much better is it for us to know merely that the Son of God, our Mediator, was made flesh, that he is called both God and Man, and is such in reality ; which is expressed in Greek by the single and appropriate term *Θεάνθρωπος*. Since however God has not revealed the mode in which this union is effected, it behoves us to cease from devising subtle explanations, and to be contented with remaining wisely ignorant.

It may however be observed, that the opinion here given respecting the hypostatic union agrees with what was advanced relative to the Son of God in the fifth chapter, namely, that his essence is not the same

with that of the Father ; for if it were the same, it could not have coalesced in one person with man, unless the Father were also included in the same union, nay, unless man became one person with the Father as well as with the Son ; which is impossible.

The reasons, therefore, which are given to prove that he who was made flesh must necessarily be the supreme God may safely be dismissed. It is urged, first, from *Heb.* vii. 26, 27. that ‘ such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens.’ These words, however, do not even prove that he is God, much less that it was necessary that he should be so ; not to mention, that he is ‘ holy,’ not only as God, but as man conceived of the Holy Spirit by the power of the Most High ; nor is he said to be *higher* than the heavens, but to be ‘ made higher than the heavens.’ Again, what is said of him v. 24. ‘ he continueth ever,’ is a property which he has in common both with men and angels ; nor does it follow that he is God because ‘ he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him,’ v. 25. Lastly, ‘ the word of the oath, which was since the law, maketh the Son, who is consecrated for evermore,’ v. 28. so that he is not on this account necessarily God. Besides, Scripture nowhere teaches, that none but God is able to approach God, to take away sin, to fulfil the law, to endure and vanquish the anger of God, the power of Satan, temporal as well as eternal death, in a word, to restore to us the blessings which we had lost ; but it teaches that *he* has power to effect this ‘ to whom the Father has given it ;’ that is to say, the beloved Son of God,

in whom he has himself testified that he is well pleased.

That Christ, therefore, since his assumption of human flesh, remains one Christ, is a matter of faith; whether he retains his two-fold will and understanding, is a point respecting which, as Scripture is silent, we are not concerned to inquire. For having *emptied himself*,\* he might 'increase in wisdom,' *Luke* ii. 52. by means of the understanding which he previously possessed, and might 'know all things,' *John* xxi. 17. namely, through the teaching of the Father, as he himself acknowledged.† Nor is his twofold will implied in the single passage *Matt.* xxvi. 39. 'not as I will, but as thou wilt,' unless he be the same with the Father, which, as has been already shown, cannot be admitted.

That Christ was very man, is evident from his having a body, *Luke* xxiv. 39. 'a spirit hath not

\* . . . . . he that dwelt above  
High thron'd in secret bliss, for us frail dust  
*Emptied* his glory, ev'n to nakedness.

*Ode on the Circumcision*, 18.

Newton remarks that the expression is taken from *Philipp.* ii. 7. though not as in our translation, *he made himself of no reputation*, but as it is in the original, *ἑαυτὸν ἱξίωσε*.

† . . . now by some strong motion I am led  
Into the wilderness, to what intent  
I know not yet, perhaps I need not know;  
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

*Paradise Regained*, I. 290.

Several of the expressions in the soliloquy from which these lines are extracted are founded on the supposition, that Christ was not possessed of all the knowledge which his human nature was capable of receiving by virtue of the union of the two natures, and from the first moment of that union. See the authorities by which this opinion is supported, in the note on the above passage in Mr. Hawkins's recent edition of Milton's poetical works.

flesh and bones, as ye see me have ;' a soul, *Mark* x. 45. ' that he might give his life (*animam*, his soul) a ransom for many ;' xiv 34. ' my soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death ;' and a spirit, *Luke* xxiii. 46. ' into thy hands I commend my spirit.' It is true that God attributes to himself also a soul and spirit ; but there are reasons most distinctly assigned in Scripture, why Christ should be very man. *1 Cor.* xv. 21. ' for since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.' *Heb.* ii. 14. ' forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil.' v. 17. ' wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest.' v. 18. ' for in that he himself hath suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted.' iv. 15. ' we have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities.' v. 2. ' who can have compassion on the ignorant, and on them that are out of the way ; for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity.' Finally, God would not accept any other sacrifice, inasmuch as any other would have been less worthy. *Heb.* x. 5. ' sacrifice thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me.' viii. 3. ' it is of necessity that this man have somewhat also to offer.' ix. 22. ' without shedding of blood is no remission.'

Inasmuch, however, as the two natures constitute one Christ, certain particulars appear to be predicated of him absolutely, which properly apply to one of his natures. This is what is called *communicatio*

*idiomatum* or *proprietary*, where by the customary forms of language what is peculiar to one of two natures is attributed to both jointly. *John* iii. 13. 'he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man, which is in heaven.' viii. 58. 'before Abraham was, I am.' Accordingly, these and similar passages, wherever they occur, are to be understood κατ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, as theologians express it ; (for in speaking of Christ the proper expression is not ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, but ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, inasmuch as it refers, not to himself, but to his person, or, in other words, his office of mediator : for as to the subject of his two natures, it is too profound a mystery, in my judgement at least, to warrant any positive assertion respecting it.)

It sometimes happens, on the other hand, that what properly belongs to the compound nature of Christ, is attributed to one of his natures only, *1 Tim.* ii. 5. 'one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.' Now he is not mediator inasmuch as he is man, but inasmuch as he is Θεάνθρωπος.

Scripture, however, more frequently distinguishes what is peculiar to his human nature. *Acts* ii. 30. 'of the fruit of the loins of David, according to the flesh.' See also *Rom.* ix. 5. *1 Pet.* iii. 18. 'being put to death in the flesh,' that is to say, being affected chiefly and most visibly in his human nature. This text will be adverted to again in the sixteenth chapter.

The incarnation of Christ consists of two parts ; his conception and his nativity. Of his conception the efficient cause was the Holy Spirit. *Matt.* i. 20. 'that which is conceived in her, is of the Holy



Ghost.' *Luke* i. 35. 'the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; by which words I am inclined to understand the power and spirit of the Father himself, as has been shown above; according to *Psal.* xl. 6, 7. compared with *Heb.* x. 5, 6. 'a body hast thou prepared me.'

The object of this miraculous conception was to obviate the contamination consequent upon the sin of Adam. *Heb.* vii. 26. 'such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners.'

The nativity of Christ is predicted by all the prophets, and more particularly in the following passages. *Mic.* v. 2. 'thou Bethlehem Ephratah . . . out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel.' *Isai.* vii. 14. 'behold, a virgin shall conceive.' xi. 1. 'there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse.' The history of the nativity is given *Matt.* i. 18—25. *Luke* i. 42. 'blessed is the fruit of thy womb.' ii. 6, 7. 'the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.' v. 22. 'when the days of her purification were accomplished.'

That the Messiah is already come is proved, in contradiction to the belief of the Jews, by the following arguments. First, the cities of Bethlehem and Nazareth, (where according to prophecy Christ was to be born and educated, *Mic.* v. 2. *Zech.* vi. 12. 'behold the man whose name is (Nezer, or) the Branch,' are no longer in existence. Secondly, it was predicted that his advent should take place while the second temple and the Jewish government were yet in being. *Hag.* ii. 7, 9. 'I will fill this house

with glory: the glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former.' *Dan.* ix. 24. 'seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression . . . and to anoint the most Holy.' v. 26. 'after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off . . . and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city.' v. 27: 'he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.' *Zech.* ix. 9. 'rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy king cometh unto thee.' *Gen.* xlix. 10. 'the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come,' by which name the three most ancient Jewish commentators, Onkelos, Jonathan, and Hierosolymitanus, understood the Messiah.\* *Dan.* ii. 44. 'in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom.' Lastly, because the Gentiles have long since put away the worship of other gods, and embraced the faith of Christ, which event, according to the prophecies, was not to take place till after his coming, *Gen.* xlix. 10. 'unto him shall the gathering of the people be.' *Isai.* ii. 2. 'it shall come to pass in the last days . . . that all nations shall flow unto it.' See also *Mic.* iv. 1. *Hag.* ii. 6. 'yet once, it is a little while . . . and I will shake all nations.' *Mal.* iii. 1. 'the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple.'

\* See Poole's *Synopsis* in loc. where, besides the authorities mentioned by Milton, other Jewish commentators are cited as admitting the same interpretation of the passage.

## CHAPTER XV.

### OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE MEDIATOR, AND OF HIS THREEFOLD OFFICE.

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**T**HE nature of Christ the Mediator, human as well as divine, has been already defined.

*The mediatorial office of Christ is that whereby, at the special appointment of God the Father, he voluntarily performed, and continues to perform, on behalf of man, whatever is requisite for obtaining reconciliation with God, and eternal salvation.\**

*At the special appointment of God the Father. Isai. xlii. 1. 'behold my servant . . . mine elect in whom my soul delighteth.' lxi. 1. 'Jehovah hath anointed me.' Hence he derived the name of *Messias*, of *Christ*, *Psal. ii. of the messenger of the covenant*, *Mal. iii. 1. and of the advocate*, *1 John ii. 1. 'we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ.'* *Psal. cx. 4. 'Jehovah hath sworn, and will not repent.'* *Rom. iii. 25. 'whom God hath**

\* . . . . . Men hereafter may discern  
From what consummate virtue I have chose  
This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,  
To earn salvation for the sons of men.

*Paradise Regained, l. 164.*

set forth.' *Heb.* v. 4—6. 'so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an high priest.' x. 9, 10. 'I come to do thy will, O God . . . by the which will we are sanctified.' *John* iii. 16, 17. 'God gave his only begotten Son . . . God sent not his Son into the world to condemn—'. v. 34. 'God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him.' vi. 27. 'him hath God the Father sealed.' x. 36. 'him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world.' *Gal.* i. 4. 'who gave himself . . . according to the will of God and our Father.'

*Voluntarily.* *John* xv. 9. 'as the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you.' *Rom.* viii. 35. 'who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation,' &c.....' or sword?' *Eph.* iii. 19. 'the love of Christ which passeth knowledge.'

*Whatever is requisite for obtaining reconciliation with God.* *Rom.* v. 10. 'we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.' *2 Cor.* v. 18, 19. 'all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ: God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.' *1 John* ii. 2. 'he is the propitiation for our sins.'

*Eternal salvation.* *Matt.* i. 21. 'thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.' *1 Tim.* i. 15. 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.' *John* i. 17. 'grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.' *1 John* iv. 9. 'God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live by him.' *1 Thess.* v. 9. 10. 'God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

✓ The name and office of mediator is in a certain sense ascribed to Moses, as a type of Christ.\* *Gal.* iii. 19. 'the law was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator.' What the nature of his office was, is explained *Acts* vii. 38. 'this is he....who received the lively oracles to give unto us,' compared with *Deut.* v. 5. 'I stood between Jehovah and you at that time to show you the word of Jehovah.'

In treating of the functions of the Mediator, we are to consider his threefold office, as *prophet*, *priest*, and *king*, and his manner of administering the same.

*His office as a prophet is to instruct his church in heavenly truth, and to declare the whole will of his Father.* *Deut.* xviii. 15. compared with *Acts* iii. 22. and vii. 37. 'Jehovah thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee.' *Isai.* lxi. 1. 'Jehovah hath annointed me to preach,' compared with *Luke* iv. 18. *Ezek.* xxxiv. 23. 'I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David.' *Zech.* vi. 12, 13. 'behold the man.... he shall build the temple of Jehovah.' *Matt.* xxiii. 8. 'one is your master, even Christ.' *Luke* x. 22. 'no man knoweth who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.' *Rev.* v. 7. 'he took the book.' Hence he is called 'counsellor,' *Isai.* ix. 6. and lv. 4. 'a witness, a leader and commander to the people.' *John* i. 9. 'that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the

\* . . . . . To God is no access  
Without mediator, whose high office now  
Moses in figure bears, to introduce  
One greater. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 239.

world.' 1 *Cor.* i. 24. 'the wisdom of God.' *Heb.* iii. 1. 'the apostle of our profession.' xii. 2. 'the author and finisher of our faith.' xiii. 20. 'that great shepherd of the sheep.' *Rev.* i. 5. 'the faithful witness.' *Heb.* i. 2. 'God hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.' *John* i. 16—18. 'grace and truth came by Jesus Christ....the only begotten Son....he hath declared him.' iv. 25. 'when Christ is come, he will tell us all things.' xviii. 37. 'to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.' xv. 15. 'all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you.'

His prophetic office consists of two parts; one external, namely, the promulgation of divine truth; the other internal, to wit, the illumination of the understanding. The former is mentioned *Matt.* iv. 17. 'from that time Jesus began to preach and to say—;' and *Mark* i. 14. the latter *Luke* xxiv. 32, 45. 'did not our heart burn within us....while he opened to us the Scriptures? then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures.' *Acts* xvi. 14. 'the Lord opened the heart of Lydia, that she attended unto the things that were spoken of Paul.' *John* viii. 12. 'I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.'

Christ's prophetic office began with the creation of the world, and will continue till the end of all things. 1 *Pet.* i. 10, 11. 'the spirit of Christ which was in them....when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ,' &c. iii. 19. 'by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison.' *John* i. 10.

‘he was in the world....and the world knew him not.’ *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20. ‘go ye therefore and teach all nations....and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.’ *Acts* i. 3. ‘to whom also he showed himself alive after his passion....speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.’ *2 Cor.* xiii. 3. ‘since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me.’

✓ *Christ’s sacerdotal office* is that whereby he once offered himself to God the Father as a sacrifice for sinners, and has always made, and still continues to make intercession for us.

*Christ’s sacerdotal office.* *Psal.* cx. 4. ‘thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek. *Zech.* vi. 13. ‘he shall be a priest upon his throne.’ *Heb.* v. 10. ‘called of God an high priest after the order of Melchizedek.’ See also vii. 17, 20, 21.

*Once offered* ; virtually, and as regarded the efficacy of his sacrifice, from the foundation of the world, as above stated ; *Rev.* xiii. 8. actually in the fulness of time, and that once for all, *Heb.* vii. 27. ix. 25, 26, 28. ‘Christ was once offered.’ x. 10, 12, 14. ‘by one offering.’ *1 Pet.* iii. 18. ‘Christ hath once suffered for sins.’

*Himself as a sacrifice.* *Isai.* liii. 10, ‘when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin.’ *Psal.* xl. 6, 7. ‘burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required : then said I, Lo, I come.’ *Eph.* v. 2. ‘Christ hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God.’ *Heb.* ix. 14. ‘who through the eternal Spirit offered himself.’ Being God-man, he offered himself in that capacity ; ‘he who thought it not robbery to be equal with God, made himself of no reputation,’ &c.

*Philipp.* ii. 6, 7. He offered himself, however, more particularly in his human nature, as many passages of Scripture expressly indicate. *Matt.* xx. 28. 'the Son of man came....to give his life a ransom for many.' *Acts* xx. 28. 'the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.' *Col.* i. 20. 'through the blood of his cross.' v. 22. 'in the body of his flesh through death.' *Heb.* ix. 12. 'by his own blood he entered in.' x. 10. 'through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ.' 1 *Pet.* ii. 24. 'who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree.' iv. 1. 'forasmuch as Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh.' 1 *John* iv. 10. 'he sent his son to be the propitiation for our sins.' *Rom.* iii. 25. 'whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness.'

*For sinners.* *Isai.* liii. 12. 'he bare the sin of many.' 2 *Cor.* v. 21. 'he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin.' *Gal.* iii. 13. 'Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.' *Heb.* ix. 28. 'Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many.' 1 *Pet.* ii. 24. 'who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree.' iii. 18. 'he hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust.' 1 *John* ii. 2. 'he is the propitiation for our sins.'

*Has always made intercession.* *Isai.* liii. 12. 'he made intercession for the transgressors.' *Jer.* xxx. 21. 'I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me; for who is this that engaged his heart to approach unto me?' *John* xiv. 6, 13. 'no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.' xvii. 9. 'I pray for them.' *Rom.* viii. 24. 'who maketh intercession for



us.' *Heb.* vii. 25. 'he ever liveth to make intercession for them.' viii. 1. 2. 'who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens, a minister of the sanctuary.' He makes intercession, first, by 'appearing in the presence of God for us,' *Heb.* ix. 24. 1 *John* ii. 1. 'we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.' Secondly, by rendering our prayers agreeable to God. *John* xiv. 13. 'whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do.' As to the expressions, *Rom.* viii. 26, 27. 'the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us,' and, 'he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God,' the preceding words of the same verse show in what sense they are to be understood; 'the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities;' and *Gal.* iv. 6. 'God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father;' that is, encouraging and persuading us to address God as our Father through faith. This is easily distinguished from the intercession which Christ makes for us in his sacerdotal capacity.

*The Kingly office of Christ is that whereby being made King by God the Father, he governs and preserves, chiefly by an inward law and spiritual power, the Church which he has purchased for himself, and conquers and subdues its enemies.*

*Made King by God the Father.* *Psal.* ii. 6. 'I have set my King upon my holy hill.' cx. 1. compared with *Matt.* xxii. 44. 'the Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand.' *Ezek.* xxxvii. 25. 'my servant David shall be their prince for ever.' *Dan.* ii. 44. 'the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom.' vii. 14. 'there was given him dominion.'

*Matt.* xi. 27. 'all things are delivered unto me of my Father.' xxviii. 18. 'all power is given unto me.' *Luke* i. 32. 'the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.' *Eph.* i. 20—22. 'when he set him at his own right hand . . . far above all principality—'. *Rev.* i. 5. 'prince of the kings of the earth.' xix. 16. 'King of kings.'

*His Church.* *Psal.* ii. 6. 'yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Sion.' *Matt.* ii. 5, 6. 'thus it is written by the prophet . . . out of thee shall come a governor, that shall rule my people Israel.' *Luke* i. 33. 'he shall reign over the house of Jacob.' *Eph.* i. 22. 'who gave him to be the head over all things, to the church.' *Col.* i. 18. 'he is the head of the body, the church.'

*Chiefly by an inward law.* *Jer.* xxxi. 31, 32. compared with *Heb.* viii. 8. and x. 16. 'this is the covenant that I will make with them . . . I will put my laws into their hearts.' *Luke* xvii. 21. 'behold the kingdom of God is within you.' *John* iv. 23, 24. 'in spirit and in truth.' xviii. 36. 'my kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.' Hence the law of the kingdom, the gift of the Spirit, was given at Jerusalem on the fiftieth day from the passover in Mount Sinai, *Acts* ii. 1. in sign that the old law was superseded by the new, the law of bondage and of the flesh by the law of the Spirit and of freedom. *Rom.* xiv. 17. 'the kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.' *Psal.* lxxviii. 18. compared with

*Eph.* iv. 8. 'he gave gifts unto men,' that is, spiritual gifts. Accordingly, the weapons of those who fight under Christ as their King, are exclusively spiritual. *2 Cor.* x. 4. *1 John* v. 4. 'this is the victory that overcometh the world.' Herein it is that the pre-eminent excellency of Christ's kingdom over all others, as well as the divine principles on which it is founded, are manifested; inasmuch as he governs not the bodies of men alone, as the civil magistrate, but their minds and consciences,\* and that not by force and fleshly weapons, but by what the world esteems the weakest of all instruments.† Hence external force ought never to be employed in the administration of the kingdom of Christ, which is the church.

*Governs and preserves. Isai.* ix. 6, 7. 'Counsellor . . . the Prince of peace: of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end.' *Jer.* xxiii. 5, 6. 'in his days Judah shall be saved.' *John* x. 28. 'neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.' *Heb.* vii. 2. 'the King of righteousness . . . King of peace.'

\* . . . . To guide nations in the way of truth  
By saving doctrine, and from error lead  
To know, and knowing worship God aright,  
Is yet more kingly; this attracts the soul,  
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;  
That other o'er the body only reigns,  
And oft by force, which to a generous mind,  
So reigning, can be no sincere delight.

*Paradise Regained*, II. 473.

† . . . . . by small  
Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd weak  
Subverting worldly strong. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 566.

*Overcomes and subdues his enemies.* *Psal.* ii. 9. 'thou shalt break them with a rod of iron,' namely, at his second coming. *Psal.* cx. 1, 2. compared with *Matt.* xxii. 44. *Dan.* ii. 44. 'it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms.' The world; *John* xvi. 33. and 1 *John* v. 4. Death and the law, and sin; 1 *Cor.* xv. 26, 54—57. 'the sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law: but thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.' Satan; *Rom.* xvi. 20. *Luke* xix. 27. 'those mine enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither.' *Rev.* xvii. 14. 'the Lamb shall overcome them.'

The kingdom of Christ is also styled the kingdom of grace, and the kingdom of glory. The kingdom of grace is the same as the kingdom of heaven, which 'is at hand,' *Matt.* iii. 2. The kingdom of glory is that which is destined to be made more manifest at his second advent.

The kingdom of Christ, as appears from the authorities just quoted, is, like his priesthood, eternal; that is, it will endure as long as the world shall last, and as long as there shall be occasion for his mediatorial office. This is clearly taught by the apostle, 1 *Cor.* xv. 24, 28. 'then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father . . . and shall also himself be subject unto him;' in like manner as a period is assigned to his priestly office (although that also is called eternal) as well as to his prophetic office, 'that God may be all in all.' See more on this subject in the last chapter of the present book, on the kingdom of Christ in glory.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### OF THE MINISTRY OF REDEMPTION.

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**H**AVING treated of the mediatorial office, and its threefold functions, we are now to consider the manner in which it is discharged. This includes the state of humiliation to which our Redeemer submitted, as well as his state of exaltation.

*The humiliation of Christ* is that state in which under his character of God-man he voluntarily submitted himself to the divine justice, as well in life as in death, for the purpose of undergoing all things requisite to accomplish our redemption.

*Under his character of God-man.* *Philipp.* ii. 6—8. ‘he made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant.’ *Luke* xxii. 43. ‘there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him.’ Now the presence of an angel would have been superfluous, unless the divine nature of Christ, as well as his human, had needed support. So also *Matt.* xxvii. 46. ‘My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?’ If his divine nature had not partaken of the trial, why was it not at hand to sustain him when he demanded succour? or, if it had the ability, but not the will to help him, of what

avail was it to call upon his Father, whose will was identically one with his own ?

*In life.* *Rom.* viii. 3. ‘in the likeness of sinful flesh.’ This is conspicuous even from his birth, *Luke* ii. 7. in his circumcision, *Rom.* xv. 8. by which he became a ‘*a debtor to do the whole law,*’ *Gal.* v. 3. whence an offering was made for him, *Luke* ii, 24 ; in his flight into Egypt, *Matt.* iii. in his subjection to his parents, *Luke* ii. 51 ; in his submitting to manual labour, *Mark* vi. 3 ; in his baptism, *Matt.* iii. in his temptation, *Matt.* iv. *Heb.* ii. 18. iv. 15 ; in his poverty, *Matt.* viii. 20. *2 Cor.* viii. 9. ‘that ye through his poverty might be rich ;’ in the persecutions, insults, and dangers which he underwent ; for an account of which, together with the whole of his passion, it is better to refer to the gospels, than to cite the passages at length. To the same purport is the prediction of Isaiah, l. 6. ‘I gave my back to the smiters—.’ Compare also xlix. 6, 7. liii. 2. 3.

*In death.* *Psal.* xxii. *Philipp.* ii. 8. ‘he became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.’ This death was ignominious in the highest degree ; *Deut.* xxi. 23. ‘he that is hanged, is accursed of God.’ The curse also to which we were obnoxious, was transferred to him, *Gal.* iii. 13. accompanied with a dreadful consciousness of the pouring out of the divine wrath upon his head, which extorted from him the dying exclamation, *Matt.* xxvii. 46. ‘My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?’ Lastly, he was detained in the grave three days after death ; *1 Cor.* xv. 4. And here may be found the solution of the difficulty respecting the descent into hell,\*

\* It has not been questioned whether the soul of Christ descended into hell, (as seems to be implied in the words of Milton) which ‘no Chris-

which has occasioned so much acrimonious controversy among divines ; for if Christ's death was real, his soul must have died on the same day with his body, as was above shown. There is another question which seems less easy of solution ; namely, whether he yielded to death in his divine nature likewise. For not a few passages of Scripture intimate that his divine nature was subjected to death conjointly with his human ; passages too clear to be explained away by the supposition of idiomatic language. *Rom.* x. 9. ' if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved,' Him whom we ought to confess with the mouth, God raised from the dead. But he whom we ought to confess with the mouth is ' the Lord Jesus,' that is, the whole person of Jesus ; therefore God raised from the dead the whole person of the Lord Jesus. *1 Cor.* ii. 8. ' had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.' *Gal.* i. 1. ' not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.' Christ therefore was not raised in his human nature alone, but in the whole of his person ; and Paul received his mission from him not as man, but as God-man. *Philipp.* ii. 6—8. ' who being in the form of God....made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form

tian can deny,' says St. Augustin, ' it is so clearly delivered in this prophecy of the Psalmist (*Psal.* xvi. 8—10.) and application of the apostle (*Acts* ii. 25)' but the controverted point has been, what that hell was into which he descended. See the various opinions stated at large, in Burnet and Beveridge *On the Third Article* ; Pearson, *On the Creed*, Fifth Article ; see also Bp. Horsley's Sermon on *1 Pet.* iii. 18—20. Vol. II. 145.

of a servant....he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death.' 1 *John* iii. 16. 'hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us.' *Rev.* i. 17, 18. 'I am the first and the last; I am he that liveth, and was dead.' See also ii. 8. The only uncertainty, therefore, arises from the words of Christ to the thief, 'this day thou shalt be with me in paradise;' a passage which has on other accounts given much trouble to the learned. As to the conciseness of expression in 1 *Pet.* iii. 18. I consider it as of comparatively little importance; 'being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by' (or *in*) 'the Spirit:' since, if the antithesis be correct, the apostle's intention is to specify, on the one hand, the part in which he died, and on the other, that in which he was quickened. Now that which was quickened, must have been previously dead. But if 'the Spirit' be here put for that which causes life, it must be understood, on comparing it with less obscure texts of Scripture, to signify the Spirit of God the Father. The fact, that Christ became a sacrifice both in his divine and human nature, is denied by none; and as it was requisite that the whole of the sacrifice should be slain, Christ, who was the sacrificed lamb, must be considered as slain in the whole of his nature.

*To the divine justice.* *Luke* xxiv. 26. 'ought not Christ to have suffered these things?' *Isai.* liii. 6. 'Jehovah hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.'

The humiliation of Christ was succeeded by his exaltation.

*The exaltation of Christ* is that by which, having triumphed over death, and laid aside the form of a servant, he was exalted by God the Father to a state



*of immortality and of the highest glory, partly by his own merits,\* partly by the gift of the Father, for the benefit of mankind; wherefore he rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God.*

*Having triumphed over death, and laid aside the form of a servant. Luke xxiv. 26. 'ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?' Col. ii. 14, 15. 'having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it.'*

*He was exalted by God the Father. John x. 18. 'I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again: this commandment have I received of my Father.' Hence John ii. 19. 'destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up,' namely, because he had been so commanded by the Father, as he acknowledges in the preceding quotation. Acts ii. 24. 'whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death.' v. 33. 'being by the right hand of God exalted.' v. 30, 31. 'the God of our fathers raised up Jesus....him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince.' See also x. 40. and xiii. 32—34. as above. Rom. i. 4. 'declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.' viii. 11. 'if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies.' 2 Cor. xiii. 4. 'though he was crucified through weakness,*

\* . . . . . All power

I give thee; reign for ever, and assume  
Thy merits. *Paradise Lost*, III. 317.

yet he liveth by the power of God.' *Eph.* i. 19, 20. 'according to the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead.' *Philipp.* ii. 9. 'wherefore God also hath highly exalted him.' *Col.* ii. 12. 'through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead.' *Heb.* ii. 7. 'thou crownedst him with glory and honour.'

*To a state of immortality.* *Acts* xiii. 34. 'no more to return to corruption.' *Rom.* vi. 9. 'Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more.'

*Partly by his own merits, partly by the gift of the Father.* *Rom.* xiv. 9. 'to this end Christ both died.... that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.' *Philipp.* ii. 9. 'wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name.' *Heb.* ii. 9. 'we see Jesus....crowned with glory and honour, that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man.' xii. 2. 'for the joy that was set before him.'

*For the benefit of mankind.* See below, where the object of Christ's entire ministry is considered.

This exaltation consists of three degrees; his resurrection, his ascension into heaven, and his sitting on the right hand of God; all of which are specified with sufficient clearness in the gospels and apostolical writings. For his resurrection, see *Matthew* and *Mark*, &c. and *1 Cor.* xv. 4, &c. for his ascension into heaven, *Mark* xvi. 19. *Luke* xxiv. 51. *John* xiv. 12, &c. *Acts* i. 9, &c. *Eph.* iv. 8—10. 'he ascended up far above all heavens.' His sitting on the right hand of God, a Hebraism signifying that he is exalted to a place of power and glory next to

God,\* is mentioned *Matt.* xxvi. 64. 'sitting on the right hand of power.' See also *Mark* xiv. 62. xvi. 19. *Eph.* i. 20. 'he set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places.' *Heb.* i. 3. 'sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.' viii. 1. 'who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty.' See also xii. 2. *Psal.* cx. 1. *Acts* vii. 55.

The human nature of Christ, although exalted to ✓ a state of the highest glory, exists nevertheless in one definite place, and has not, as some contend, the attribute of ubiquity.† *Matt.* xxviii. 6. 'he is not here, for he is risen.' *Luke* xxiv. 51. 'he was parted from them and carried up into heaven.' *John* xiv. 28. 'I go away, and come again unto you.' *Acts* iii. 21. 'whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things.'

As Christ emptied himself in both his natures, so both participate in his exaltation ;‡ his Godhead, by

\* Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat  
Second to thee. *Paradise Lost*, III. 406.  
. . . . . Who into glory him receiv'd  
Where now he sits at the right of bliss.

*Paradise Lost*, VI. 891.

† This alludes to the doctrine of the Ubiquitarians, who held the omnipresence of the human body of Christ. The opinion seems to have been first maintained by Brentius, one of the earliest reformers, in 1560. Luther favored it in his controversy with Zuingli, but subsequently acknowledged its difficulties, especially as connected with the corporal presence in the Eucharist. After his death it was again advanced by Brentius, supported by Chemnitius and Andræas. Curcellæus, *Instit.* V. 15. 9—15. argues against the doctrine.

‡ Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt  
With thee thy manhood also to this throne;  
Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign  
Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 313.

its restoration and manifestation ; his manhood, by an accession of glory. *John* xvii. 5. ‘ now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.’ *Acts* xiii. 32, 33. ‘ he hath raised up Jesus again, as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.’ *Rom.* i. 4. ‘ being declared’ (or *defined*) ‘ to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.’

The effect and design of the whole ministry of mediation is, the satisfaction of divine justice on behalf of all men, and the conformation of the faithful to the image of Christ.

*The satisfaction of Christ is the complete reparation made by him in his twofold capacity of God and man, by the fulfilment of the law, and payment of the required price for all mankind.\**

*By the fulfilment of the law.* *Matt.* v. 17. ‘ I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.’ *Psal.* xl. 8, 9. compared with *Heb.* x. 7, 9. ‘ I come to do thy will, O God.’ *Gal.* iv. 5. ‘ to redeem them that were under the law.’ *Col.* ii. 14. ‘ blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.’ *Rom.* viii. 3, 4. ‘ that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled.’ Christ fulfilled

\* Die he or justice must ; unless for him  
Some other able, and as willing, pay  
The rigid satisfaction, death for death.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 209.

. . . . . So Man, as is most just,  
Shall satisfy for man.

*Ibid.* 294. Compare also XII. 415—419.

the law by perfect love to God and his neighbour, until the time when he laid down his life for his brethren, being made obedient unto his Father in all things.\*

*By payment of the required price for, that is to say, instead of all mankind.* *Matt. xx. 28.* λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν ‘a ransom for many.’ *1 Cor. vi. 20.* ‘ye are bought with a price.’ *1 Tim. ii. 6.* ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων, ‘a ransom for all.’ The Greek words clearly denote the substitution of one person in the place of another. *1 Pet. i. 18.* ἐλυτρώθητε, ‘ye were redeemed . . . with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb.’ *Rom. v. 10.* ‘we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.’ *iv. 25.* ‘for our offences.’ *1 Cor. xv. 3.* ‘for our sins.’ *2 Cor. v. 21.* ‘for us.’ *Tit. ii. 14.* ‘for us, that he might redeem us.’ See also *Gal. i. 4.* *Heb. vii. 22.* ‘a surety.’ *x. 12.* ‘one sacrifice for sins.’ *v. 29.* ‘who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing.’ It is in vain that the evidence of these texts is endeavoured to be evaded by those who maintain that Christ died, not in our stead, and for our redemption, but merely for our advantage in the abstract, and as an example to mankind.† At the same time I confess myself un-

\* The law of God exact he shall fulfil  
Both by obedience and by love, though love  
Alone fulfil the law. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 402.

† Giving to death, and dying to redeem.

*Paradise Lost*, III. 299.

Which line is thus explained by Warburton. ‘Milton’s system of divinity taught, not only that man was redeemed, but likewise that a real price was paid for his redemption; *dying to redeem* therefore signifying only redemption in a vague uncertain sense, but imperfectly represents

able to perceive how those who consider the Son as of the same essence with the Father, can explain either his incarnation, or his satisfaction. ✓

*For all mankind.* *Rom.* v. 18. 'the free gift came upon all men.' *2 Cor.* v. 14. 'if one died for all, then were all dead.' If this deduction be true, then the converse is also true, namely, that if all were dead, because Christ died for all, Christ died for all who were dead; that is, for all mankind. *Eph.* i. 10. 'that he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth;' all things therefore on earth without a single exception, any more than in heaven. *Col.* i. 20. 'by him to reconcile all things.' *1 Tim.* ii. 4. 'who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.' Compare also v. 6. *Heb.* ii. 9. 'for every man.' See also *2 Pet.* iii. 9. Further, Christ is said in many places to have been given for the whole world. *John* iii. 16, 17. 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' vi. 51. 'the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.' See *1 John* iv. 14. They however who maintain that Christ made satisfaction for the elect alone, reply, that these passages are to be understood only of the elect who are in the world; and

his system; so imperfectly, that it may as well be called the Socinian; the price paid (which implies a proper redemption) is wanting. But to pay a price implying a voluntary act, the poet therefore well expresses it by *giving to death*, that is, giving himself to death; so that the sense of the line fully expresses Milton's notion; heavenly love gave a price for the redemption of mankind, and by virtue of that price really redeemed them.'

that this is confirmed by its being said elsewhere that Christ made satisfaction *for us*, that is, as they interpret it, for the elect. *Rom. viii. 34. 2 Cor. v. 21. Tit. ii. 14.* That the elect, however, cannot be alone intended, will be obvious to any one who examines these texts with attention, if in the first passage from *St. John* (for instance) the term *elect* be subjoined by way of explanation to that of *the world*. 'So God loved the world' (that is, the elect) 'that whosoever' (of the elect) 'believeth in him should not perish.' This would be absurd; for which of the elect does not believe? It is obvious therefore that God here divides the world into believers and unbelievers; and that in declaring, on the one hand, that 'whosoever believeth in him shall not perish,' he implies on the other, as a necessary consequence, that whosoever believeth not, shall perish. Besides, where *the world* is not used to signify all mankind, it is most commonly put for the worst characters in it. *John xiv. 17.* 'even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive;' *xv. 19.* 'the world hateth you;' and so in many other places. Again, where Christ is said to be given *for us*, it is expressly declared that the rest of the world is not excluded. *1 John ii. 2.* 'not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world;' words the most comprehensive that could possibly have been used. The same explanation applies to the texts in which Christ is said to lay down his life 'for his sheep,' *John x. 16.* or 'for the church,' *Acts xx. 28. Eph. v. 23, 25.* Besides, if, as has been proved above, a sufficiency of grace be imparted to all, it necessarily follows that a full and efficacious satisfaction must have been made for all

by Christ, so far at least as depended on the counsel and will of God ; inasmuch as without such satisfaction not the least portion of grace could possibly have been vouchsafed. The passages in which Christ is said to have 'given a ransom for many,' as *Matt.* xx. 28. and *Heb.* ix. 28. to 'bear the sins of many,' &c. afford no argument against the belief that he has given a ransom *for all* ; for *all* are emphatically *many*. If however it should be argued, that because Christ gave his life *for many*, therefore he did not give it *for all*, many other texts expressly negative this interpretation, and especially *Rom.* v. 19. 'as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous ;' for no one will deny that *many* here signifies *all*. Or even if the expression *for all* should be explained to mean *for some*, or in their own words, for classes of individuals, not for individuals in every class, nothing is gained by this interpretation ; not to mention the departure from the usual signification of the word for the sake of a peculiar hypothesis. For the testimony of the sacred writings is not less strong to Christ's having made satisfaction for each individual in every class (as appears from the frequent assertions that he died *for all*, and *for the whole world*, and that he is 'not willing that any should perish,' *2 Pet.* iii. 9.) than the single text *Rev.* v. 9 is to his having died for classes of individuals ; 'thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.' It will be proved, however, that Christ has made satisfaction not for the elect alone, but also for the reprobate, as they are called. *Matt.* xviii. 11. 'the Son of Man is come to save



that which was lost.' Now all were lost ; he therefore came to save all, the reprobate as well as those who are called elect. *John* iii. 17. ' God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world,' (which doctrine, nevertheless, must be maintained by those who assert that Christ was sent for the elect only, to the heavier condemnation of the reprobate) ' but that the world through him might be saved ;' that is, the reprobate ; for it would be superfluous to make such a declaration with regard to the elect. See also *John* xii. 47. vi. 32. ' my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven ;' ' you,' that is, even though ye ' believe not,' v. 36. ' he giveth,' that is, he offers in good faith : ' for the bread of God . . . giveth life unto the world,' that is, to all men, inasmuch as he gives it even to you who believe not, provided that you on your part do not reject it. *Acts* xvii. 30, 31. ' now he commandeth all men every where to repent ; because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness.' Those whom he will judge, he undoubtedly calls to repentance : but he will judge all the world individually ; therefore he calls all the world individually to repentance. But this gracious call could have been vouchsafed to none, had not Christ interfered to make such a satisfaction as should be not merely sufficient in itself, but effectual, so far as the divine will was concerned, for the salvation of all mankind ; unless we are to suppose that the call is not made in earnest. Now the call to repentance and the gift of grace are from the Deity ; their acceptance is the result of faith : if therefore the efficacy of Christ's satisfaction be lost through want of faith, this does not prove that an effectual

satisfaction has not been made, but that the offer has not been accepted. *Heb. x. 29.* ‘who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the spirit of grace.’ *2 Pet. ii. 1.* ‘even denying the Lord that bought them, and bringing upon themselves swift destruction.’ Forasmuch then as all mankind are divided into elect and reprobate, in behalf of both of whom Christ has made satisfaction, he has made satisfaction for all. So far indeed is this satisfaction from regarding the elect alone, as is commonly believed, to the exclusion of sinners in general, that the very contrary is the case ; it regards all sinners whatever, and it regards them expressly as sinners ; whereas it only regards the elect in so far as they were previously sinners. *Rom. iii. 25.* ‘to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.’ *1 Tim. i. 15.* ‘this is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.’ But it is objected, Christ ‘does not pray for the world,’ *John xvii. 9.* This is true of that particular prayer, which was dedicated chiefly to the benefit of his disciples ; but on the cross he prayed even for his murderers, *Luke xxiii. 34.* ‘Father forgive them.’ He exhorts us likewise by the mouth of the apostle, *1 Tim. ii. 1,* &c. ‘that supplications be made for all men ;’ and for this especial reason : ‘for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.’ They also object *Tit. ii. 14.* ‘who

gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works;' 'a peculiar people,' not therefore the whole of mankind. I reply, that redemption is not purification; Christ has redeemed all transgressors, but he purifies only such as are zealous of good works, that is, believers; for no works are good, unless done in faith. All are redeemed, even those who know not of it, or who are yet enemies and sinners, *Rom.* v. 6—8, 10. but none are purified, except their wills be consenting, and they have faith; as Scripture everywhere testifies. *Ezek.* xii. 2. 'they have ears to hear, and hear not, for they are a rebellious house.' *Matt.* xxiii. 37. 'how often would I have gathered thy children together . . . and ye would not.' *Luke* vii. 30. 'the Pharisees rejected the counsel of God against themselves.' *John* v. 34, 40. 'these things I say, that ye might be saved . . . and ye will not come to me that ye might have life.' *Acts* vii. 51. 'ye do always resist the Holy Ghost.' *2 Thess.* ii. 10. 'because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.' *Acts* x. 43. 'through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.' xv. 9. 'purifying their hearts by faith.' *Rom.* iii. 22. 'by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe; for there is no difference; for all have sinned—: through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood.' *Gal.* iii. 22. 'the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.'

*The complete reparation made by Christ. Heb.*

x. 14. 'by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.' 1 *John* i. 7. 'the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin.' *Tit.* ii. 14. 'that he might redeem us from all iniquity.' *Heb.* i. 3. 'when he had by himself purged our sins.' vii. 22. 'by so much was Jesus made a surety of a better testament.' ix. 14. 'how much more shall the blood of Christ....purge your conscience.' He made full satisfaction, because such was the will of his Father, who said 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased;' implying that he had himself sanctified and sealed him to his office.

That the satisfaction made by Christ was the effect and end proposed by the whole of his ministry, appears from the following passages.

First, of his humiliation. *Isai.* liii. 4—11. 'by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities.' *Rom.* iii. 25. 'to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness.' v. 9. 'being now justified by his blood.' 2 *Cor.* v. 21. 'he hath made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.' *Eph.* v. 2. 'Christ hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour.' 1 *Pet.* ii. 24. 'who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness.'

Secondly, of his exaltation. *Rom.* v. 10. 'much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.' viii. 34. 'who is he that condemneth? it is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even

at the right hand of God, who maketh intercession for us.' 1 *Cor.* xv. 17. 'if Christ be not raised.... ye are yet in your sins.' *Heb.* ix. 24. 'Christ is entered....into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.' 1 *Pet.* iii. 21. 'the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.' 1 *John* ii. 1. 'we have an advocate with the Father.'

The effect of Christ's satisfaction is sufficient to produce the reconciliation of God the Father with man. *John* vi. 37, 39. 'all that the Father giveth me shall come to me.' *Rom.* v. 10, 11. 'when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.' 2 *Cor.* ii. 16. 'to the other the savour of life unto life.' v. 19. 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.' *Eph.* i. 6. 'to the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved.'

The second object of the ministry of the Mediator is, *that we may be conformed to the image of Christ, as well in his state of humiliation as of exaltation.* *Rom.* viii. 29. 'to be conformed to the image of his Son.'

*In his state of humiliation.* *Rom.* vi. 4. 'therefore we are buried with him.' v. 5. 'for if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death—' v. 8. 'if we be dead with Christ—' v. 11. 'reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God—' viii. 17. 'if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together.' *Gal.* ii. 20. 'I am crucified with Christ....but Christ liveth in me.' 2 *Tim.* ii. 11, 12. 'if we be dead

with him, we shall also live with him.' *Philipp.* iii. 10. 'that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death.' *Col.* i. 24. 'who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church.' *1 Pet.* iv. 13. 'rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also.'

*In his state of exaltation.* *Matt.* xxvii. 52, 53. 'the graves were opened.' *John* xii. 32. 'I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.' xiv. 2—4. 'I go to prepare a place for you....and I will receive you unto myself.' xvi. 7. 'it is expedient for you that I go away—.' xvii. 22. 'the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them.' *Rom.* iv. 25. 'who was raised again for our justification.' vi. 4. 5. 'like as Christ was raised up from the dead—.' *1 Cor.* xv. 13. 'if there be no resurrection from the dead, then is Christ not risen.' v. 20. 'the first-fruits of them that slept.' *Eph.* ii. 5, 6. 'God hath quickened us together with Christ....and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in in Christ Jesus.' *Philipp.* iii. 21. 'who shall change our vile body—.' *Col.* i. 18. 'the first-born from the dead.' iii. 1, 2, &c. 'if ye then be risen with Christ—.' *1 Thess.* iv. 14. 'even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.' *Heb.* x. 19, 20. 'having boldness to enter into the holiest—.' *1 Pet.* i. 3, 4. 'which hath begotten us again by a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.'

So far, therefore, as regards the satisfaction of Christ, and our conformity to his humiliation, the restoration of man is of merit ; in which sense those texts are to be understood which convey a notion of recompense and reward. *Matt.* v. 12. 'rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.' *Rom.* ii. 6. 7. 'who will render to every man according to his deeds ; to them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life.' *2 Cor.* iv. 17. 'for our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.' *Philipp.* iii. 14. 'I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.' *2 Thess.* i. 5—7. 'which is a manifest token of the righteous judgement of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer ; seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you who are troubled, rest with us—.' *2 Tim.* iv. 8. 'there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.' *Heb.* vi. 10. 'for God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love.' *1 John* i. 9. 'if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just.' *Rev.* iii. 4. 'they shall walk with me in white ; for they are worthy.' Nor need we fear, lest in thus believing we should lend any support to the doctrine of human merits. For our conformity to the image of Christ is as far from adding anything to the full and perfect satisfaction made by him, as our works are from adding to faith : it is faith

that justifies, but a faith not destitute of works: and in like manner, if we deserve anything, if there be any worthiness in us on any ground whatever, it is God that hath made us worthy in Christ. *Col. i. 12.* 'giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance.' *2 Thess. i. 11.* 'we pray always for you that our God would count you worthy of this calling.' See more on this subject in Chap. xxii. on Justification.

On the other hand, so far as regards the election of Christ to the office of Mediator by God the Father, and our own election to life by the same Father, the restoration of man is purely of grace; whence the Father is so often said in the gospel to have given those that are the Son's to the Son, and the Son to those that are the Son's.

The fable of a purgatory, in which, as the Papists feign, the sins of men are cleansed and purged away by fire, is refuted by many considerations, but above all by that of the full satisfaction of Christ. For (besides that there is no mention of any such place in Scripture) if it be true that the blood of Christ has made complete expiation for us, and purified us thoroughly from all stains, it follows that there is nothing left for the fire to purge. To those who understand the *fire* mentioned in *1 Cor. iii. 13, 15.* of a real fire, I reply, that the apostle is not here speaking of the flames of purgatory, but of a metaphorical fire, appointed to try, not mankind in general, but the false teachers, whose doctrine *the day*, that is, the light of truth, *shall declare*, whether it was on the one hand disguised and impaired by false ornaments, or whether on the other hand it remained neglected



and without cultivation. Like the *fiery trial* mentioned 1 *Pet.* iv. 12. it proves us in this world, not purges us in the next. Besides, all retribution, all endurance of good or evil subsequent to this life, is deferred till the day when Christ shall sit in judgement, 2 *Cor.* v. 10. 'that every man may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.' And if it be true, as shown in a preceding chapter, that the soul as well as the body sleeps till the day of resurrection, no stronger argument can be urged against the existence of a purgatory. Lastly, it is certain that to those who are to be saved there is nothing intervening, except death, between 'the earthly house' of this life, and 'the house eternal in the heavens,' 2 *Cor.* v. 1. 2 *Tim.* iv. 8. 'there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.'

## CHAPTER XVII.

### OF MAN'S RENOVATION, INCLUDING HIS CALLING.

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**H**AVING concluded the subject of *man's redemption*, his *renovation* is next to be considered.

*The renovation of man* is that change whereby *he who was before under the curse, and obnoxious to the divine wrath, is brought into a state of grace.* *Eph.* ii. 3, 5, &c. 'we were by nature the children of wrath....by grace ye are saved.' i. 3, 5. 'who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.' *Col.* iii. 10. 'and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.' *Eph.* iv. 23, 24. 'that ye be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.' *2 Cor.* iv. 16. 'the inward man is renewed day by day.' *Tit.* iii. 5. 'by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.' *Rom.* xii. 2. 'by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.' *Heb.* vi. 4, 6. 'for it is impossible for those who were once enlightened....if they shall fall away, to renew them again to repentance.'

✓ In renovation two things are to be considered; the mode by which man is renewed, and the manifestation of that mode.

The mode by which man is renewed, is either *natural* or *sapernatural*.

By the natural mode, I mean that which influences the natural affections alone. This includes the calling of the natural man, and the consequent change in his character.

*The calling of man* is that natural mode of renovation whereby *God the Father*, according to his purpose in Christ, invites fallen man to a knowledge of the way in which he is to be propitiated and served; insomuch that believers, through his gratuitous kindness, are called to salvation, and such as refuse to believe are left without excuse.

*Whereby God the Father.* Acts ii. 39. 'to as many as the Lord our God shall call.' 1 Cor. i. 9. 'by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son.' 2 Cor. v. 20. 'as though God did beseech you by us.' John vi. 37. 'all that the Father giveth me.' v. 44. 'except the Father which hath sent me draw him.' 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14. 'the Spirit . . . whereunto he called you.' 1 Pet. v. 10. 'the God of all grace, who hath called us.' 2 Pet. i. 3. 'through the knowledge of him that hath called us.'

*According to his purpose.* Rom. viii. 28—30. 'the called according to his purpose.' 2 Tim. i. 9. 'who hath called us with an holy calling . . . according to his own purpose and grace.'

*In Christ.* Gen. iii. 15. 'it shall bruise thy head.' xxii. 18. 'in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.' 1 Cor. i. 9. 'unto the fellowship

of his Son.' *Gal.* i. 6. 'into the grace of Christ.'  
*1 Pet.* v. 10. 'who hath called us by Christ Jesus.'

*To a knowledge of the way in which he is to be propitiated and served.* *Gen.* xvii. 1. 'walk before me and be thou perfect.'

*Through his gratuitous kindness.* *Isai.* lv. 1, &c. 'come buy wine and milk without money and without price.' lxxv. 1. 'I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not; I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name.'

*Believers are called to salvation.* *1 Tim.* vi. 12. 'lay hold on eternal life.' *1 Thess.* ii. 12. 'who hath called you to his kingdom and glory.' See also *2 Thess.* ii. 14. *1 Pet.* ii. 9. 'out of darkness into his marvellous light.' v. 10. 'who hath called us unto his eternal glory.'

*Such as refuse to believe are left without excuse.* *Prov.* i. 24. 'because I have called, and ye refused . . . I also will laugh at your calamity.' *John* xv. 22. 'If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin.' *Rom.* i. 18—20. 'who hold the truth in unrighteousness: because that which may be known of God is manifest in them . . . for the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen . . . so that they are without excuse.' Those therefore who have not been called, are not without excuse. x. 14. 'how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?'

This calling is either general or special. The general calling is that whereby God invites the whole of mankind, in various ways, but all of them sufficient

for the purpose, to the knowledge of the true Deity. *John* i. 9. 'that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' *Acts* xiv 17. 'he left not himself without witness. *Rom.* i. 19. 'because that which may be known of God is manifest in them.' ii. 15. 'which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another.'

It may be objected, that all have not known Christ. I answer, that this proves nothing against the doctrine, that all are called in Christ alone; inasmuch as, had he not been given to the world, God would have called no one: and as the ransom he has paid is in itself sufficient for the redemption of all mankind, all are called to partake of its benefits, though all may not be aware of the source from which they flow. For if Job believed that his sacrifice could avail for his sons, who were not present at its offering, and were perhaps thinking of nothing less, i. 5. if the returned Jews believed that their sacrifices could be available for the ten tribes, who were then far distant, and ignorant of what was passing at Jerusalem; how much more ought we to believe that the perfect sacrifice of Christ may be abundantly sufficient even for those who have never heard of the name of Christ, and who believe only in God? This will be treated more at large under the head of faith.

God's special calling is that whereby he, at the time which he thinks proper, invites particular individuals, elect as well as reprobate, more frequently, and with a more marked call than others.

Particular individuals in preference to others. Thus he called Abraham from his father's house, who probably expected no such call, *Gen.* xii. 1, &c. and who was even an idolater at the time.\* *Josh.* xxiv. 2, 3. 'they served other gods, and I took your father Abraham from the other side of the flood.' So also he called the people of Israel, for his name's sake and for the sake of the promises made to their fathers. *Psal.* cxlvii. 19, 20. 'he sheweth his word unto Jacob . . . he hath not dealt so with any nation, and as for his judgements, they have not known them.' Another reason is given *Matt.* ix. 13. 'I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners.' xv. 26. 'it is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs.' *Acts* xvi. 6, 7. 'they were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia . . . they assayed to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit suffered them not.' v. 9. 'a vision appeared to Paul in the night.'

Elect. *Rom.* viii. 28—30. 'to them that love God, to them who are the called, according to his purpose. 1 *Cor.* i. 26. 'ye see your calling, brethren . . . God hath chosen the foolish things of the world.' 2 *Tim.* i. 9. 'with an holy calling, according to his own purpose and grace.' *Rev.* xix. 9. 'blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb.'

As well as reprobate. *Isai.* xxviii. 13. 'the word of Jehovah was unto them precept upon precept.' *Ezek.* ii. 4, 5. 'they are impudent children and stiff-

\* Him on this side Euphrates yet residing,  
 Bred up in idol-worship. *Paradise Lost*, XII. 114.  
 Yet he at length, time to himself best known,  
 Rememb'ring Abraham, by some wond'rous call  
 May bring them back. *Paradise Regained*, III. 433.

hearted ; I do send thee unto them.' See also v. 7. iii. 7, 11, 27. *Matt.* x. 18. 'for a testimony against them and the Gentiles.' xi. 21. 'woe unto thee, Chorazin !' xxii. 8, 9. 'they which were bidden were not worthy ... as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage.' v. 10. 'both bad and good.' xxiii. 37. 'how often would I have gathered your children together, and ye would not.' *Luke* vii. 30. 'the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves.' *Acts* vii. 51. 'ye do always resist the Holy Ghost.' xiii. 46. 'seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life.'

At the time which he thinks proper. *Matt.* xx. 1, 3, &c. 'he went out about the third hour.' *Acts* xiv. 16. 'who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways.' xvii. 27, 30. 'the times of this ignorance God winked at ; but now commandeth all men every where to repent.' *Eph.* iii. 5. 'which in other ages was not made known.' *Rom.* xvi. 25. 'which was kept secret since the world began.' On the promulgation of the gospel, a new command was given : *Matt.* xxviii. 19. 'go ye therefore and teach all nations.' *Mark* xvi. 15. 'preach the gospel to every creature.' *Rom.* x. 18. 'have they not heard ? yes verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.' *Col.* i. 26. 'the mystery which hath been hid for ages ... but now is made manifest.'

The change which takes place in man by reason of his calling, is that whereby the natural mind and will of man being partially renewed by a divine impulse, are led to seek the knowledge of God, and for the time, at least, undergo an alteration for the better.

Inasmuch as this change is from God, those in whom it takes place are said to have been enlightened, and to be endued with power to will what is good. This is ascribed sometimes to the Father : *Eph.* i. 17, 18. 'that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ....may give unto you the spirit of knowledge....the eyes of your understanding being enlightened.' *2 Cor.* iv. 6. 'God hath shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge—.' *James* i. 17. 'every good gift cometh down from the Father of lights.' *Luke* xi. 13. 'how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit.' Sometimes to the Son : *John* i. 9. 'that was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' Sometimes to the Holy Spirit : *Heb.* vi. 4, &c. 'those who were once enlightened....and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost.'

As this change is of the nature of an effect produced on man, and an answer, as it were, to the call of God, it is sometimes spoken of under the metaphor of hearing or hearkening, (this faculty itself, however, being usually described as a gift from God) sometimes under that of tasting. Hearing : *Matt.* xi. 15. 'he that hath ears to hear, let him hear.' Thus Herod is said 'to have heard' John the Baptist 'gladly.' *Mark* vi. 20. So also *Acts* xxvi. 28. 'Agrippa was willing to hear Paul.' xvi. 14. 'whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things spoken of Paul.' *Rom.* vi. 17. 'God be thanked that....ye have obeyed from the heart,' &c. (*ex corde auscultâstis*). *Heb.* iii. 7. 'to-day if ye will hear his voice.' Tasting : *Heb.* vi. 4. 'it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted



of the heavenly gift....if they shall fall away—.' Even the weakest of man's efforts is ascribed to the same source. *Luke* xi. 13. 'how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.' *Philipp.* ii. 12, 13. 'work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' This can only imply that he works in us the power of acting freely, of which, since our fall, we were incapable, except by means of a calling and renewal. For the power of volition cannot be wrought in us, without the power of free agency being at the same time imparted; since it is in this power that the will itself consists.

The parts of this change, considered as an effect, are two; repentance, and a corresponding faith. Both the one and the other of these feelings may be either the genuine beginnings of conversion, or the mere effect of nature, or, lastly, they may be altogether fictitious; and repentance of this kind, or a transient sorrow for past sin, bears the same relation to solid and lasting repentance, which the faith corresponding to it bears to a saving faith.\* I distinguish between the two species of repentance for the sake of

\* *Ut pœnitentia ad resipiscentiam, ita fides hujusmodi se habet ad fidem salvificam.* This is probably an allusion to the distinction made by Lactantius between these two words. 'Is enim quem facti sui pœnitet, errorem suum pristinum intelligit: ideoque Græci melius et significantius *μετάνοια* dicunt, quam nos possimus resipiscentiam dicere; resipiscit enim, ac mentem suam quasi ab insania recipit, quem errati piget, castigatque seipsum dementiæ, et confirmat animum suum ad rectius vivendum; tum illud maxime cavet, ne rursus in eisdem laqueos indocatur.' *Lib. 6. De Vero Cultu, c. 24.* Tertullian however in his treatise on Repentance, and the Fathers in general, use the two words indiscriminately.

clearness, although I do not deny that the same word is indiscriminately employed to denote the temporary and the permanent affection; in like manner as the various kinds of faith are all expressed in Scripture by the same term.

This secondary species of repentance (in Greek *μεταμέλεια*) is that whereby a man abstains from sin through fear of punishment, and obeys the call of God merely for the sake of his own salvation.

Through fear of punishment. *Jer.* vi. 8. 'be thou instructed, O Jerusalem, lest my soul depart from thee, lest I make thee desolate.' *Rom.* ii. 15. 'their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing one another.' *2 Cor.* vii. 10. 'the sorrow of the world worketh death.' *Matt.* xix. 22. 'he went away sorrowful.' *Gen.* iv. 13. 'my punishment is greater than I can bear.' *Numb.* xxiii. 10. 'let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.'

For the sake of his own salvation. *Matt.* xix. 16. 'what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?' *Ezek.* xviii. 21, 28. 'if the wicked will turn.... he shall surely live, he shall not die.' See also xxxiii. 14—16. *Hos.* vii. 14. 'they have not cried unto me with their heart, when they howled upon their beds: they assemble themselves for corn and wine, and they rebel against me.' *Joel* i. 5. 'because of the new wine, for it is cut off from thy mouth.'

This kind of repentance is common to the regenerate and to the unregenerate. Examples among the unregenerate are Cain, Esau, Pharaoh, Saul, Ahab, Judas, and many others, in whom contrition, and confession of sins, and other marks of repentance, are

perceptible. *Exod.* ix. 27. 'I have sinned this time; Jehovah is righteous, and I and my people are wicked.' 2 *Sam.* xv. 24. 'I have sinned, for I have transgressed the commandment of Jehovah.'

Repentance is not to be deferred. 2 *Cor.* vi. 2. 'for he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee: behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.' *Heb.* iii. 7, 8. 'to-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.'

Among the most striking exhortations to repentance in Scripture are *Deut.* xxx. 1, &c. *Job* xi. 13, &c. 2 *Chron.* xxx. 6. *Isai.* i. 16. &c. lvii. 19, &c. *Jer.* iv. 1, &c. xviii. 8. *Hos.* xiv. 1, &c. All exhortation, however, would be addressed in vain to such as were not in some measure renewed, at least in the natural mode here described; that is to say, who were not endued with some portion of mental judgment and liberty of will.

The faith corresponding to this species of repentance is an assent, likewise natural, yielded to the call of God, and accompanied by a trust which is in like manner natural, and often vain. I have described this assent as yielded to the call of God, inasmuch as faith, of whatever kind, can only be founded on divine testimony in matters relating to God. *Rom.* x. 17. 'faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.'

This faith is commonly distinguished into the several degrees of historical faith, temporary faith, and faith in miracles. Any faith, however, may be temporary; so may repentance itself: as will be here after shown.

Historical faith consists in an assent to the truth of the scripture history, and to sound doctrine. This faith is necessary to salvation, but is not in itself a saving faith. 1 *Tim.* i. 19. 'holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck.' iv. 1. 'some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to....doctrines of devils.' *Heb.* xi. 6. 'he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.' *James* ii. 19. 'the devils also believe and tremble.'

Temporary faith is that which assents to hearing, and exercises a certain degree of trust in God, but generally of that kind only which is termed natural. I say generally, because there is no reason why a regenerate faith should not itself sometimes prove merely temporary, owing to the remains of human frailty still inherent in us; this however seldom happens, as will be argued hereafter under the head of final perseverance. *Matt.* xiii. 20, 21. 'he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it: yet hath he not root in himself, but dureth for a while.' *Luke* viii. 13. 'which for a time believe, and in time of temptation fall away.' *John* vi. 66. 'from that time many of his disciples went back.' *Acts* viii. 13. 'then Simon himself believed also, and was baptized.' v. 18. 'when Simon saw that through the laying on of the apostles' hands,' &c. v. 21. 'thy heart is not right in the sight of God.' 1 *Tim.* v. 12. 'having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith.'

Faith in miracles is that whereby any one is endued with the power of working miracles in the name of God, or whereby he believes that another is endued

with this power. *Matt.* vii. 22. 'have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name done many wonderful works?' See also x. 8. xvii. 19. 'why could not we cast him out?' *Mark* xvi. 17. 'these signs shall follow them that believe.' 1 *Cor.* xii. 9. 'to another faith by the same Spirit.' xiii. 2. 'though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.'

Even without this species of faith, however, miracles have been sometimes wrought for unbelievers.' ✓ *Numb.* xx. 10, 11. 'hear now, ye rebels, must we fetch you water out of this rock?' In this instance both he who worked the miracle, and those for whom it was worked, seem to have been in a state of unbelief at the time of its performance. 2 *Kings* v. 12. 'are not Abana and Pharpar better than all the waters of Israel?'

The call of God, and the consequent change in the natural man, do not of themselves ensure his salvation, unless he be also regenerate; inasmuch as they are only parts of the natural mode of renovation *Matt.* xxii. 14. 'many are called, but few are chosen' 2 *Cor.* vii. 10. 'the sorrow of the world worketh death.' *Heb.* iv. 2. 'unto us was the gospel preached, as well as unto them, but the word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it.' 2 *Pet.* ii. 20. 'if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord our Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled therein—.'

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### OF REGENERATION.

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**T**HE intent of *supernatural renovation* is not only to restore man still more completely than before to the use of his natural faculties, as regards his power to form right judgement, and to exercise free will; but to create afresh, as it were, the inward man, and infuse from above new and supernatural faculties into the minds of the renovated. This is called *regeneration*, and the regenerate are said to be *planted in Christ*.

*Regeneration is that change operated by the Word and the Spirit, whereby the old man being destroyed, the inward man is regenerated by God after his own image, in all the faculties of his mind, insomuch that he becomes as it were a new creature, and the whole man is sanctified both in body and soul, for the service of God, and the performance of good works.* John iii. 3, 5. 'except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God....except a man be born of water and of the Spirit.' 1 Pet. i. 23. 'being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible.'

Is *regenerated by God*; namely, the Father; for no one generates, except the Father.' Psal. li. 10. 'create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a

right spirit within me.' *Ezek.* xi. 19. 'I will put a new spirit within you.' *John* i. 12, 13. 'to them gave he power to become the sons of God....which were born, not of blood....but of God.' iii. 5, 6. 'except a man be born of water and the Spirit—;' where by 'the Spirit' appears to be meant the divine power of the Father; for the Father is a Spirit; and, as was said before, no one generates except the Father. xvii. 17. 'sanctify them through thy truth.' *Rom.* viii. 11, 16. 'but if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead—; the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.' *Gal.* iv. 6. 'because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' *Eph.* ii. 4, 5. 'God who is rich in mercy.... hath quickened us together with Christ.' *1 Thess.* v. 23. 'the very God of peace sanctify you wholly.' *Tit.* iii. 5. 'according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.' *Heb.* xiii. 20. 'the God of peace....make you perfect in every good work.' *1 Pet.* i. 3. 'blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again—.' *James* i. 17, 18. 'of his own will begat he us.'

*By the Word and the Spirit. John* xvii. 17. 'sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth.' *James* i. 18. 'of his own will begat he us with the word of truth.' *Eph.* v. 26. 'that he might cleanse it with the washing of water by the Word.' *1 Cor.* xii. 13. 'by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body.' *Tit.* iii. 5. 'by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.'

*The inward man.* John iii. 5, 6. 'that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.' Rom. vii. 22. 'after the inward man.'

*The old man being destroyed.* Rom. vi. 6. 'knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed.' v. 11. 'likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.' 2 Cor. v. 17. 'old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.' Col. iii. 9—11. 'that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man.'

*In all the faculties of his mind;* that is to say, in understanding and will. Psal. li. 10. 'create in me a clean heart, O God.' Ezek. xi. 19. 'I will put a new spirit within you...and I will give them an heart of flesh.' xxxvi. 26. 'a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you.' Rom. xii. 2. 'be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good....will of God.' Eph. iv. 23. 'be renewed in the spirit of your mind.' Philipp. ii. 13. 'it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' This renewal of the will can mean nothing, but a restoration to its former liberty.

*After his own image.* Eph. iv. 24. 'put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.' Col. iii. 9—11. 'which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.' 2 Pet. i. 4. 'that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.' If the choice were given us, we could ask nothing more of



God, than that, being delivered from the slavery of sin, and restored to the divine image, we might have it in our power to obtain salvation if willing. Willing we shall undoubtedly be, if truly free; and he who is not willing, has no one to accuse but himself. But if the will of the regenerate be not made free, then we are not rewarded, but compelled to embrace salvation in an unregenerate state.

*A new creature.* 2 Cor. 5. 17. 'if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.' Gal. vi. 15. 'a new creature.' Eph. iv. 24. 'the new man.' See also Col. iii. 10, 11. Hence some, less properly, divide regeneration into two parts, *the mortification of the flesh*, and *the quickening of the spirit*; whereas mortification cannot be a constituent part of regeneration, inasmuch as it partly precedes it, (that is to say, as corruption precedes generation) and partly follows it; in which latter capacity it belongs rather to repentance. On the other hand, *the quickening of the spirit* is as often used to signify resurrection as regeneration. 'John v. 21. 'as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.' v. 25. 'the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.'

*The whole man.* 1 Cor. vi. 15, 19. 'know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?' 1 Thess. v. 23. 'the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

*For the performance of good works.* 1 John ii. 29. 'if ye know that he is righteous, ye know that

every one that doeth righteousness is born of him.' *Eph.* ii. 10. 'we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.'

*Is sanctified.* 1 *John* iii. 9. 'whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.' v. 18. 'whosoever is born of God, sinneth not, but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.' Hence regeneration is sometimes termed sanctification, being the literal mode of expressing that, for which regeneration is merely a figurative phrase. 1 *Cor.* vi. 11. 'such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified.' 1 *Thess.* iv. 7. 'God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness.' 2 *Thess.* ii. 13. 'because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit.' 1 *Pet.* i. 2. 'according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit.' *Deut.* xxx. 6. 'Jehovah thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love Jehovah thy God.' Sanctification is also attributed to the Son. *Eph.* v. 25, 26. 'Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.' *Tit.* ii. 14. 'that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself' (unto himself as our Redeemer and King) 'a peculiar people.'

Sanctification is sometimes used in a more extended sense, for any kind of election or separation, either of a whole nation to some particular form of worship, or of an individual to some office. *Exod.*

xix. 10. 'sanctify them to-day and to-morrow.' xxxi. 13. 'that ye may know that I am Jehovah that doth sanctify you.' See also *Ezek.* xx. 12. *Numb.* xi. 18. 'sanctify yourselves against to-morrow.' *Jer.* i. 5. 'before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations.' *Luke* i. 15. 'he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb.'

The external cause of regeneration or sanctification is the death and resurrection of Christ. *Eph.* ii. 4, 5. 'when we were dead in sins, God hath quickened us together with Christ.' v. 25, 26. 'Christ gave himself for the church, that he might sanctify and cleanse it.' *Heb.* ix. 14. 'how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.' x. 10. 'by the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ.' 1 *Pet.* i. 2, 3. 'through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ . . . which hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.' 1 *John* i. 7. 'the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.'

Sanctification is attributed also to faith. *Acts* xv. 9. 'purifying their hearts by faith;' not that faith is anterior to sanctification, but because faith is an instrumental and assisting cause in its gradual progress.

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